THE POST-SCHOOL PROGRESS OF EDUCABLE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED PUPILS

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SUMMARY

This thesis reports research into the post-school adjustment of young people who formerly attended classes for educable mentally handicapped pupils. It consists in a set of co-ordinated studies of the degree of adjustment which they make, both socially and in employment, and of factors relating to, or predictive of, differences in their adjustment. The thesis relates the national (Scottish) situation, the situation of mentally handicapped young people in a particular county, and histories of individual cases. With the exception of childhood histories, all the data were collected in prospective studies, ranging from a nine month study of post-school employment records to a 4-5 year longitudinal study with independent criteria of the two main aspects of adjustment.

In the longitudinal study prospective leavers from special classes in one administrative area were interviewed and given tests of attainment, social competence, vocabulary and non-verbal intelligence. Their subsequent progress was recorded. The post-school progress of 72 leavers was followed (including that of 3 who had not been interviewed at school). Precise details of their employment records were kept for two years. Their general progress was followed for between three and four years. At the end of the study an independent assessment of their social adjustment was carried out. Ratings were made of the subjects' employment adjustment (based on their time

unemployed, the number of jobs they had held and Youth Employment Officers' ratings of job performance as reported by employers) and of various aspects of their social adjustment. These ratings were correlated with their test results, with their teachers' ratings of certain attributes of personality, with the degree to which they were physically disabled and with factors in their home circumstances, such as family size. This report discusses the general findings and describes the individual cases of those whose adjustment was rated at the ends of the distribution and of members of particular groups, e.g. those who married during the study period.

The general survey included an enquiry, conducted by means of questionnaires to local authorities and schools, into the provision of facilities for mentally handicapped school leavers in various parts of the country. It also included the collection and analysis of reports by Youth Employment Officers throughout the country on the records of 329 former mentally handicapped pupils approximately nine months after they had left school. Comparisons are made between the national situation shown in these reports and the findings of the longitudinal study in one area.

DECLARATION

I declare that I have composed this thesis myself and that, unless otherwise stated in the text, the work reported has been carried out by me.

Signed:

Some of the results of this study were included in an article published, with the approval of the author's supervisor, in Education in the North, Aberdeen College of Education, 1971.

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

The aims of this research were to study the progress of leavers from special classes for educable mentally handicapped pupils in order to obtain a clearer picture of their needs, and to investigate the provision of relevant services in order to assess the extent to which the needs were being met. The wider aim was to produce evidence for the guidance of local authorities and other agencies concerned with promoting the welfare of mentally handicapped people.

It has been suggested by some who write with authority in this field that in times of high employment in England and Wales approximately 80% of E.S.N. school leavers settle without undue difficulty into employment. Thus Professor Tizard, writing in The Mentally Subnormal: The Social Case-work Approach (Adams, 1960), says,

> It is now fairly clear that the majority of dull and educationally subnormal children do not become socially inefficient adults and that much of the concern expressed over their future has been misplaced.

He adds the footnote,

> Recent studies have shown that about 80% of educationally subnormal school leavers find jobs to settle down with no more trouble, in times of full employment, than the average adolescent.

Carrying out a questionnaire study in England and Wales in 1963, the author found that this impression was shared by many of the 119 Headteachers of schools for the educationally subnormal who replied. In answer to a question asking what proportion of their leavers they estimated to be settled satisfactorily in a job one year after leaving, they gave

figures which, when weighted by the numbers of their leavers, yielded an average estimate of 80%. One would naturally expect the proportion who adjust successfully to vary with the local employment situation, the local ascertainment policy and the number of special school places provided locally for mentally handicapped pupils. In Scotland, where unemployment has generally been higher than in England and Wales and where the mean level of intelligence of those children ascertained as being mentally handicapped is generally reported to be slightly lower than that of those ascertained as being educationally subnormal in England and Wales, one might expect a slightly lower percentage to settle successfully in employment.

Even in England and Wales, however, detailed follow-up studies have not always tended to confirm the figure of 80%. Collman (1956) reported that 61% of his subjects had been successful in employment and 11% partially successful. According to Collman and Newlyn (1956), while 76·8% of the leavers from Day E.S.N. schools whom they studied were successful, the comparable figure for leavers from Residential E.S.N. schools was 66·3%.

Robertson (1958), reporting on a study of 74 former pupils of a Day E.S.N. school in York, considered 70·27% to have been successful. (This figure includes 30 who satisfied his criteria of complete success, 13 who satisfied the criteria of partial success and 9 who satisfied those of presumed success.) When Collins and Speake (1959) replicated Robertson's study in Cornwall, admittedly an area where the

unemployment rate was considerably higher than the national average, they found that 57% of former E.S.N. pupils had been successful in employment. It must be noted that the criteria of success adopted in these two studies were very restricted. The assessment of the degree of success was confined to the particular job in which the subject happened to be employed at the time of the enquiry. No account was taken of the rest of his employment record since leaving school. (In Chapter 4Av, the author shows that in this present study the correlation between the subjects' overall employment adjustment ratings and their ratings on performance in one particular job was 0·65, which means that only about 40% of the variance of one of these variables is predictable from the other.)

Discussing an investigation carried out in Salford and Lancashire county, Stein and Susser (1960) reported that 88 of their 106 subjects i.e. 73·6%, were independent by their early twenties. They concluded that most E.S.N. young people were not unlike other young people in being dependent until full adulthood because they were seldom able to earn enough to keep themselves in adolescence, but that the E.S.N. leavers might take longer than their peers to reach social maturity.

In a study in which he compared the progress of 62 former pupils of his E.S.N. school in Wallasey with that of a group of former Secondary Modern school pupils, Matthew (1964) found that 43·55% of the E.S.N. group had been completely successful in employment, 14·52% had been partially

successful and 12·9% had had qualified success. Matthew reported that the proportion of failures was much higher than had been expected when the pupils left school.

Jackson (1967), whose study of 232 mentally handicapped ex-pupils in Edinburgh and Midlothian is particularly relevant to the research reported in this thesis, allocated 53·88% of his subjects to the category of those adjusted in employment and 13·36% were placed in the borderline category. (The figures quoted in Table 4.11 of this thesis differ slightly from the ones given above as they are taken from an article published in 1968 in which Jackson discusses the findings for 188 subjects.) His criteria of adjustment were the number of jobs held by the subjects and the amount of time they were unemployed during a standard three-year follow-up.

Considerable caution should be exercised in the interpretation of the results of follow-up studies. One should not draw general conclusions from them without careful scrutiny of the methods used to carry them out. The obvious point has already been made about differences between the criteria of success, and these differences are probably even more marked in relation to social adjustment than in relation to employment adjustment. Equally important is the question of whether the ways in which the investigation has been carried out have been sufficiently controlled to produce reliable information. Most studies have been retrospective. This means that they have relied for their information upon the memories of their subjects and/or parents and teachers

or upon records not kept specifically for the purposes of the research.

Even among the normal population, a research worker would be unwise to place a high degree of reliance upon his subjects' memory of incidents, activities and attitudes over a period of years, particularly as the original perception of events and the vividness of particular experiences may have been subject to influences unknown to the researcher. For instance, a subject's recall of the nature of a job and his attitude towards it may be determined not by his feelings while he was performing it but by the circumstances in which he left it, whether he went with a good testimonial to a better job or was dismissed after a row with the foreman, but this influence upon his judgement may not come out clearly in an interview some years later. For the mentally subnormal, and for their parents, some of whom will also be subnormal, it may not be easy to recall even apparently straightforward facts, such as the number of jobs they have had in two or three years. Anyone who has brought up children will know how difficult it is to remember at exactly what age they reached each stage of development unless it was noted at the time. One cannot therefore report as reliable evidence, details about the stages of a subject's post-school adjustment as recalled several years later by a subnormal parent.

In the author's experience, official records are also inadequate as a source of information. Occasionally one encounters records that have been kept up to date with meticulous care, but more often there are gaps in the

information. Sometimes considerable intervals of time have elapsed between reports, and events of some importance to the research worker, such as the birth of an additional sibling or the conviction of a parent for a criminal offence, have passed unrecorded. In other cases relatively trivial details have been omitted, such as the exact date at which a new job was taken up, and without these apparently trivial details the research worker cannot calculate a precise figure for comparison with the figures for other subjects. Where such is the case, one's confidence in the correlations reported between variables is lessened. Even when records have been carefully kept, they seldom contain exactly the information which the author of the retrospective study requires. The inadequacy of official records is illustrated in Robertson's study where he states that his assessment of success is confined to the job held at the time of the enquiry because of the difficulties of tracing employment histories due to the improbability of every job's having been recorded. He also reports that his subjects' reading ages were derived from scores on Schonell's test but adds that a few may have been derived from scores on Burt's test since in some cases the records contained no indication of the test used.

Another weakness of studies that rely heavily on the contents of official files lies in the fact that these records have often been compiled from reports by a variety of people with varying standards. For instance, one subject's home may have been rated as satisfactory by one social

worker, while another subject's home has been rated by a different social worker with more rigorous standards who would almost certainly have rated the first subject's home as unsatisfactory had she been called upon to visit it. It is obvious that the value of any assessment of the influence of home conditions on adjustment is considerably reduced of the quality if the homes has been judged by varying standards. This criticism also applies to some studies which do not rely on information already contained in files but which employ a team of social workers to visit homes and rate them for the purposes of the research. If the social workers act as a team, each visiting and rating every home, or if an adequate overlap of ratings is obtained so that the reliability of the ratings can be estimated and adjustments made for rater bias, the study is strengthened. However, if, as more often happens, each social worker has her own separate quota of homes to visit and assess, then the research worker has no control over variations in the standards of assessment. (The differences between the standards of social workers are discussed in Chapter 4Bi.)

Another source of potential error exists when the assessment of the subjects' post-school adjustment involves the exercise of judgement by a person who is already familiar with their backgrounds and with their attainments and behaviour at school. Thus the assessment of the criterion characteristics is contaminated by a knowledge of the potentially predictive variables. In some cases, as when the research has been carried out by someone who formerly taught the

subjects, a relationship has existed previously between the subjects and the person who rates their subsequent adjustment. In these circumstances it is possible that the personal feelings of liking or antipathy experienced before the subjects left school have exerted some influence upon the ratings of their post-school adjustment.

Contamination may also occur when people are asked to make retrospective ratings. For instance, as part of the studies by Matthew and Jackson, teachers were required to rate their former pupils on various personal attributes a considerable time after they had left school. It is possible in these circumstances that the ratings are contaminated by what the raters have heard about the subjects' post-school progress, in addition to the possibility that their memories have become blurred. (Matthew lessened these risks by having three teachers rating every subject and by taking the average of their ratings.)

When one considers studies of the occupational success of feebleminded young people who have received training in mental deficiency hospitals, one must bear in mind not only the possible methodological weaknesses mentioned in connection with follow-up studies of school leavers, but also the fact that the subjects are a highly selected sample of young people of subnormal intelligence. Their admission to a mental deficiency hospital is likely to have been determined by special circumstances or special characteristics, since only a minority of feebleminded young people are admitted to such institutions. Those who have taken part in workshop training

may have been specially selected for their suitability from among the patients of the appropriate age and grade. Subjects whose behaviour has proved disturbing may have been dismissed from the "experiment" and some of those who have taken part in training may not have been allowed out on licence. Thus the subjects may have passed through a number of selection processes before they have been put to the test in employment. British studies of young people from hospitals for the subnormal are more often prospective than are the follow-up studies of E.S.N. school leavers, and in many cases the subjects' employment records have been carefully kept in detail since they have still been on licence while their occupational success was being assessed. However, those conducting the research have not always been able to control all the factors related to the establishment, organisation and running of the training schemes and to the changes of staff. Reports such as those by Tizard and O'Connor (1952), O'Connor (1953) and O'Connor and Tizard (1956) have made a valuable contribution to the improvement of training opportunities for young patients in mental subnormality hospitals, and later reports, such as that by Roswell-Harris (1963) have confirmed their value. However, one must be very cautious in drawing from them conclusions about mentally handicapped young people generally, for the reasons already mentioned and because the subjects' backgrounds have been so different from those of young people who have never experienced institutional life.

The differences in background are even more marked when one considers the many American studies of the progress of mentally retarded people. Many of the subjects of these studies are former patients of large mental deficiency hospitals, conditions in which vary from state to state. Not only does the employment situation, and the economic policy which influenced it, differ between Britain and America, but there are also wide differences between the education, welfare, penal and social security systems of the two countries. For this reason, the author has made little reference in the course of this report to American follow-up studies and has not tried to make comparisons between their findings and her own. This does not imply that in the author's view a student of this subject can afford to ignore these studies, particularly such as that carefully carried out by Baller (1936) and Charles (1953), or the insights provided by the work of a writer such as Sarason (1959). In discussing the relevant literature, however, she has concentrated upon that concerned with the education, welfare and employment of young people in Britain. For an admirably clear, full and logically organised review of the literature, including a fairly comprehensive coverage of American studies, the author refers the reader to a thesis on the post-school adjustment of mentally handicapped ex-pupils in Edinburgh by Jackson (1967).

Background information about the system in which the subjects of the present study were educated may be obtained from a number of publications by the Scottish Education

Department. Special education is set in the context of Scottish education as a whole by the inclusion of a brief section devoted to special schools in Public Education in Scotland (1963). The Special Educational Treatment (Scotland) Regulations, 1954, defined the recognised categories of handicap and described the educational arrangements that were considered appropriate for each category. The Regulations were preceded by a report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, entitled Pupils with Mental or Educational Disabilities (1951). This was one of a series of reports by the Advisory Council, each dealing with a different type of handicap. It is written with a refreshing directness and, although twenty years old, might still be studied with profit by some administrators and teachers whose work affects the education of mentally handicapped children. In 1960 a working party was set up to

> consider what standards should be offered for the guidance of education authorities in ascertaining children as i) being mentally handicapped and requiring special educational treatment in a) a special school other than an occupational centre or b) a special school which is an occupational centre; or ii) suffering from a disability of mind of such a nature or to such an extent as to make them unsuitable for education or training in a special school.

The working party's report was published in 1961 under the title, Degrees of Mental Handicap. (In Scotland the responsibility for junior occupational centres was with the local education authorities, not with the local health authorities as it was in England at this time.) An extract from the Secretary of State's report on Education in Scotland in 1966

was published as a separate pamphlet, Special Education (1967).

An historical study of the development of educational provision for handicapped pupils has been made by Pritchard (1963). The place of special educational treatment in the structure of education and the types of organisation possible in special and ordinary schools were discussed by Cleugh (1957). This discussion indicated some of the advantages and disadvantages of segregation. On this topic Scottish Education Department Circular No. 300 (1955) had commented,

> special educational treatment should not be thought of mainly in terms of the provision on a large scale of separate schools for handicapped children. It is recognised that there must continue to be situations where it is essential in the children's interests that those who are handicapped should be separated from those who are not. Nevertheless, as medical knowledge increases and as general school conditions improve, it should be possible for an increasing proportion of pupils who require special educational treatment to be educated along with their contemporaries in ordinary schools.

Pressure against the continued practice of segregation has found expression in a number of articles such as that by Jackson (1968) and the Schools Council in England and Wales has recently set up a working party to enquire into the education of handicapped pupils in ordinary schools.

Among many works concerned with the content of special education for E.S.N. pupils, that by Tansley and Gulliford (1960) pays particular attention to the preparation of pupils for leaving school. The type of school leavers' course they advocate has been described in an article by Brennan (1963). This aspect of the content of special education was the subject

of a chapter in a pamphlet called Slow Learners at School 1964) issued by the Department of Education and Science. In the brisk, concise manner, characteristic of the better official publications, it made a number of useful suggestions that are yet to be put into practice in many special schools. Since the dividing line between pupils in the lower streams of secondary schools and the brighter pupils receiving special education is often an uncertain one, there is also relevance in many of the observations made in Half Our Future (1963), the report of the Central Advisory Council for Education on the education of pupils aged thirteen to sixteen of average and less than average ability. Sections 209-239 in particular are concerned with the content of the final school year. The implications for school building of the type of education recommended for pupils in their final terms was also discussed in Half Our Future. Building Bulletin No. 14 (1956), devoted to Day E.S.N. schools, had already foreseen some of the trends in planning the curriculum for older backward pupils.

Awareness of the difficulties which teachers with no experience of industry might face when preparing final year courses of the kind recommended in Half Our Future led to the initiation of some experimental schemes for overcoming these difficulties, including two in Scotland. These are described in Closer Links between Teachers and Industry and Commerce (1966), a working paper issued by the Schools Council. A detailed report on each of the five schemes is obtainable from the Confederation of British Industry.

Although it contains no section directly related to pupils receiving special educational treatment, From School to Further Education (1963), the report of a Scottish working party on the linkage of secondary and further education, does include a section entitled The Less Able and many of the observations made in it are applicable to the brighter pupils in special schools. Indeed the description of the employment of the less able aptly depicts the type of employment and prospects of many former mentally handicapped pupils. The English publication on the links between school and further education, Forward from School (1962) also makes a number of points relevant to the problems of handicapped school leavers in discussing the arrangements made in various areas for improving contacts between secondary schools, further education colleges and industry. (The fact that reference is seldom made to special school pupils in general discussion of these topics is often due to the fact that people who have had little direct contact with special schools tend to think of their pupils as being more sharply differentiated from ordinary secondary school pupils than many of them actually are. This point, illustrated by some correspondence the author had about operatives' courses, is discussed more fully in Chapter 7.) Further education for secondary school pupils and preparation for entering industry at 15+ has also been the subject of work by Hughes (1963). Londt (1960) considered the type of further education required to meet the needs of feebleminded young people admitted to mental deficiency hospitals. The possibly increased receptivity of

subnormal young people to instruction after they have passed the usual school-leaving age has been discussed by Gunzburg (1948 and 1960) and by O'Connor and Tizard (1956). Clarke and Clarke (1954 and 1958) have argued that intellectual growth, far from ceasing several years earlier in feebleminded than in normal persons, may in fact be greater for the feebleminded during their late adolescence than during much of their childhood (although in their studies this development is closely linked with removal from adverse home circumstances).

Understanding of the needs of school leavers has been promoted by reports of a number of investigations into the views of young people themselves. Their attitudes and aspirations concerning various aspects of adult life have been described by Veness (1962), and Musgrove (1966) has reported on a study of their social needs and satisfactions at home, at school, in youth clubs and at work. Maizels (1970) has described the opinions about the standards and helpfulness of their schools and teachers held by young people who had left secondary modern schools a year before the investigation. (Although these reports are useful in providing insight into the feelings of school leavers and in revealing how limited is their knowledge of industrial conditions, it must be remembered that their views on schools and teachers may not represent those of special class pupils, since special class pupils have generally received more individual attention and had a different type of relationship with their teachers.) Young people's job choices and

attitudes to their future employment have been studied by Jahoda (1952), Wilson (1953) and Clements (1958). The progress and prospects of school leavers, particularly in relation to employment, have been the subject of a number of studies. Ferguson and Cunnison (1951) reported on the background and post-school experiences of 1,300 boys who left Glasgow schools in 1947 at the earliest permitted age. Carter (1962) has described a study of 200 Sheffield school leavers and Paul (1962) and Carter (1966) have discussed the problems young people face in changing from school to employment.

The Youth Employment Service which figures in these discussions has also been the subject of a number of official reports. The Report of the Committee on the Juvenile Employment Service (1945) preceded the Employment and Training Act 1948 under which the service in its present form was set up. The Central Office of Information publication entitled The Youth Employment Service in Great Britain (1963) describes its work. In 1965 a working party of the National Youth Employment Council, which, under the chairmanship of Lady Albemarle, had been examining the operation of the service, issued its report, The future development of the Youth Employment Service. The role of the service has also been considered by Rodger (1962), Jahoda and Chalmers (1963), Torode (1965) and Roberts (1970) and a Young Fabian study group produced a report on it in 1966. A consultative document on the future of the service issued in 1970 by the Department of Employment and Productivity has provoked replies

from various interested organisations, including a joint one from the Associations of Chief Education Officers and of Education Officers (1970) who react strongly against the suggestion that the D.E.P. should take over reponsibility for the service in areas where responsibility is now held by the local education authorities. The Confederation of British Industry are reported to favour an all-age service, whereas the National Youth Employment Council have recommended that the service for young people should be a mandatory function of local education authorities and that the age-group who are allowed access to a local authority careers adviser should be extended to include young people up to the age of twenty-two. Of historical interest in relation to the service in Scotland is an article by Goodbrand (1961) in which he describes the origins of the service in Edinburgh after a clause in the Scottish Education Act 1908 had enabled local authorities to finance such a service from the rates. A radical change of approach in determining the qualifications appropriate to a job and in selecting personnel has been advocated by Wellens (1963). His argument is highly relevant to a consideration of the employment of those who are unlikely to acquire skills.

In addition to work on the employment and social needs of young people generally and to the E.S.N. follow-up studies already discussed, there have been a number of reports concerned with handicapped school leavers. In Scotland these include the well-known studies by Ferguson, MacPhail and McVean (1952) and Ferguson and Kerr (1960). The British

Psychological Society (1962) published a paper on handicapped school leavers which summarized the evidence they presented to a working party of the British Council for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled. An independent working party met in Scotland under the chairmanship of Professor Ferguson and the reports of the two working parties were published in a single volume entitled The Handicapped School-Leaver (1963). Their recommendations cover a wide range of handicaps and services.

In any study of the progress of handicapped school leavers it is as appropriate to consider the effectiveness of the social services as to consider the effectiveness of the education and Youth Employment services, since it is the function of the social services to provide the support which many of the families of the handicapped require and to take responsibility for the after-care of the young people themselves if they are reported as being in need of further care on leaving school. The present follow-up study took place at a time of radical change in the organisation of the social services. When the subjects left school, the services were still the responsibility of the local health authorities, the welfare of mentally handicapped persons being one of the mental health services under the direction of the Medical Officers of Health. By the end of the follow-up period, the services had been reorganised and responsibility transferred to new local authority departments under Directors of Social Services whose qualifications and experience are generally in social work, not medicine. Because of the changes taking

place, the strengths and weaknesses of social work organisation at this time have been particularly well documented. The ways in which social services in Britain were provided under the former system and the history of their development have been described by Parker (1965). A paper by Affleck and Short (1963) shows how the mental health services of one Scottish local authority were co-ordinated after the passing of the Mental Health (Scotland) Act, 1960. In Scotland the impetus to change in the organisation of the social services was given by the publication of the report, Children and Young Persons, Scotland (1964), by a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Kilbrandon. This recommended the setting up of a social education service to support the juvenile panels which the committee advocated. It was followed by a White Paper, Social Work and the Community (1966) in which proposals for the reorganisation of the social services were presented for discussion. During the period in which the proposed changes were under discussion a survey of the training of social workers was carried out by Brown and Gloyne (1966). The legislation giving effect to the proposals for reorganisation was passed as the Social Work (Scotland) Act, 1968. In 1969 the Scottish Council of Social Service published the report of a working party, entitled Social Work in Scotland, which discussed the demands made by the new act upon social workers and the ways in which these could be met. The changes in Scotland preceded those in England where legislation based on the Seebohm Report was passed in 1970. Partly

because it preceded a change that was about to take place in England, the Scottish reorganisation attracted a great deal of interest and was the subject of many articles, such as those by Carmichael (1970), Shearer (1970) and Stroud (1970), in journals with circulations far beyond Scotland.

It is in the type of area in which social workers are most active that a considerable proportion of children with educational disabilities live (Burt, 1937; Wiseman, 1964; Jackson, 1968). The effects of an adverse material and social communal environment upon children's education generally have also been described by Mays (1962) and discussed in Half Our Future and in Children and their Primary Schools (1967) the report of a committee under the chairmanship of Lady Plowden. The Plowden Report emphasised the importance of a child's own family circumstances in relation to his educational achievement. This relationship had been examined in the course of the 1947 Scottish Mental Survey, as reported in 1953, and in the investigation carried out under the auspices of the Population Investigation Committee and reported by Douglas (1964). Blacker (1952) has provided a review of some works concerned with the type of adverse family environment in which one not infrequently encounters educationally subnormal children.

Particular problems likely to be faced by the families of children with handicaps have been considered in works by Kershaw (1961) and a report to the Carnegie Trust (1964), while Tizard and Grad (1961) have carried out a social survey of families of mentally handicapped children. The National Bureau for Co-operation

in Child Care reported in Living with Handicap (1970) the results of their investigation into the needs of handicapped children, emphasising the need for early detection through developmental screening and the need for the social services to support the families. Additional insight into the problems of families with mentally handicapped children may be gained from pamphlets issued to help parents by the National Association for Mental Health and from some of the articles in their journal, such as a recent one by Fox (1971) which described the strain imposed on normal siblings by the presence of a mentally handicapped child in the family. The personal psychological problems of educationally subnormal children themselves have been the subject of work by Walker (1950), Evans (1956), Stott (1957) and Chazan (1964 and 1965).

In the follow-up study by Collman and Newlyn (1956), the authors reported the number of their E.S.N. subjects who had married by the time they were in their early twenties (their attempts to make comparisons with a group of secondary modern school leavers were not satisfactory because of a difference in age between the groups.) A much more detailed study of the marriages of subnormal people has been made by Mattinson (1970), although all her subjects had at one time been patients in a mental deficiency hospital. In the article in which they report on the marriages, Collman and Newlyn also discuss the leisure activities of their subjects. This is a topic to which Matthew (1964) has devoted considerable attention, his findings being far less encouraging than Collman and Newlyn's. A thorough investigation into clubs for E.S.N.

young people was made for the Elfrida Rathbone Association by Piper (1963). A review of various facilities then provided for E.S.N. school leavers was compiled in 1954 by Hargrove. Although naturally outdated this brief report contains some points that are still of interest.

While many mentally handicapped school leavers are able to live at home and take up ordinary employment, some need residential provision and/or sheltered work. The extent of the need for hostels and the type and function of the hostels required have been considered by Stein and Susser (1960), Esher (1965), Temple Phillips (1966), Moss (1969), Fletcher (1970), Durkin (1971) and others. An investigation into the hostels for E.S.N. school leavers set up by the National Association for Mental Health was conducted in 1962 by Wober. The opening of a hostel for high grade mentally handicapped adult males in Edinburgh which the author visited is reported in the Annual Report for 1963 by the city's Senior Medical Officer for Mental Health Services. A number of studies concerned with the trainability of imbeciles are relevant to a consideration of the type of work or training provided for those mentally handicapped school leavers who are unable to succeed in open employment. These include studies reported by Clarke and Hermelin (1955), Gordon, O'Connor and Tizard (1954 and 1955), Loos and Tizard (1955). A collection of papers, including one by Gunzburg and one by Wigley, given to a conference of the National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children in 1962 encouraged a more optimistic attitude towards the industrial and social

training of the severely subnormal than that still shown by some local authorities even towards the training of the less severely subnormal who have been unable to take up employment on leaving special school. A brief paper by Speijer in the same collection described the patiently prolonged training in one Dutch workshop and the careful grading of tasks, a systematic approach lacking in many training schemes. A local authority unit for subnormal people in a purpose-built factory, where training for social competence is given in addition to industrial training, has been described by Morris (1970), and Chambus (1970) has written about the sheltered employment scheme of another local authority.

Although only a small minority of special class leavers has spent part of its childhood in mental deficiency hospitals or will be committed to hospitals in adolescence or early adulthood, it is important that all who work with mentally handicapped people should know about the conditions inside such institutions. Most of the reported studies of workshop training have taken place in hospitals where some attempt has been made to put enlightened and humane policies into practice. The other side of the picture has been publicised by Morris (1969), and in a series of reports on individual hospitals following recent investigations into claims of ill-treatment. A report, Buildings for Mentally Handicapped People (1971), issued by the Department of Health and Social Security, deplores the overcrowding in hospitals, the type of regime it produces and the lack of personal privacy for patients. The education

provided for children in mental deficiency hospitals has been discussed by Simpson (196). In Asylums, Goffman (1961) made an important contribution to the understanding of the sociology and social psychology of such institutions. Changes in the general attitude towards the mentally handicapped as it affects their life in the community have been described by Clarke and Clarke (1958).

Reference to Burt (1937) has so far been made only in connection with the home backgrounds of the educationally backward. There are, however, few aspects of the subject of this thesis upon which it would not be appropriate to refer to his classic work. Burt was an advocate of the use of the case-history as a source of explanations in research and illustrations in its exposition. The author has tried to follow this example and has included a number of case histories in her report. These have been compiled from a variety of sources. A considerable expenditure of time was required to extract details from various records, most of which were incomplete and some of which were inaccurate, check them for accuracy and organise them into coherent histories. However, the author felt that the time spent in this way was justified because these case-histories demonstrate more vividly than figures or general descriptions the difficulties that the young people have to face and the inadequacies of the services which the community provides to help them. She has endeavoured to present all the salient facts of each case in so far as they were recorded and not

to allow her selection of material to be influenced by that sense of indignation which the reading of such records frequently provokes.

Chapter 2. OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH

There were two main parts to the study.

1. One part consisted in testing, and subsequently following up the progress of, young people who left special classes for mentally handicapped pupils in one administrative area at three consecutive leaving dates.
2. The other part was a general survey of the facilities available to, and the immediate employment prospects for, mentally handicapped special class leavers throughout Scotland.

A. Background to the Follow-up Study

i) Characteristics of the Area

The education authority whose pupils were studied administers an area of 504·5 square miles. The population of this area, according to the 1966 Sample Census, was 314,330. Of this population, 46,790 and 49,820 lived in two large burghs. (In 1961 the populations of the two large burghs were 47,151 and 52,390 and the total population 320,692.) The two large burghs are responsible for their own health and welfare services but the county authority is responsible for education throughout the area including the two large burghs.

The county is bounded on the east by the North Sea and on the north and south by two large river estuaries. The opening of road bridges over these estuaries, which took place at a time when this research was in its early stages,

	Males	Females	Married Females	
			Total	Part-time
Farmers, foresters and fishermen	619	105	70	32
Miners and quarrymen	1,115	4	-	-
Gas, coke and chemical makers	23	7	4	-
Glass and ceramics makers	16	3	3	-
Furnace, forge, foundry, rolling mill workers	75	5	2	-
Electrical and electronic workers	391	93	68	2
Engineering and allied trades	1,059	49	39	-
Woodworkers	313	1	-	-
Leather workers	19	3	2	-
Textile workers	50	310	139	28
Clothing workers	16	145	51	7
Food, drink and tobacco workers	215	66	40	6
Paper and printing workers	211	98	24	3
Makers of other products	104	50	23	3
Construction workers	356	4	2	-
Painters and decorators	163	-	-	-
Drivers of stationary engines	209	4	4	2
Labourers	842	71	40	6

	Males	Females	Married Females	
			Total	Part-time
Transport and communications workers	707	124	56	13
Warehousemen, storemen, packers, bottlers	208	150	62	6
Clerical workers	382	861	337	85
Sales workers	617	749	421	154
Service, sport and recreation workers	427	1,236	789	494
Administrators and managers	191	16	7	1
Professional, technical workers, artists	622	513	234	52
Armed Forces	341	14	2	-
Inadequ. desc. occups.	28	29	7	3

Table 2.1. Occupations of economically active persons in the area of the follow-up study at the time of the 1966 10% Sample Census.

greatly improved communications between other parts of Scotland, notably the cities of Edinburgh and Dundee, and this county which previously had been largely by-passed by the main north-south flow of traffic.

The northern part of the county is mainly agricultural. A coal-mining belt extends southwards from the central part of the area and, despite contraction in the industry, at the time of this research mining was still the county's largest single category of employment for male labour. The chief manufacturing industries, which are found principally in the large burghs, are textiles (linen and artificial silk) and floor coverings. In the south is a large government dock-yard, in the north-east an ancient university city and in the centre a developing new town. A limited amount of ship-building and fishing is still carried on around the coast. Table 2.1 shows the occupations of economically active persons in the area.

In Table 2.2 some indication is given of the rateable resources available in the area and the extent to which these are taken up, in comparison with the national figures.

ii) Educational Provision

The local education authority is responsible for a school population of approximately fifty-six and a half thousand (56,682 in 1967). Table 2.3 shows the authority's expenditure on education during the research period. Pro-vision is made for educable mentally handicapped pupils at six centres in the county, including one in each of the two

		1965-66			1966-67			1967-68		
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1.	Scotland (average)	23s1d	8·42p	£23·37	20s8d	11·02p	£27·62	21s0d	11·21p	£28·76
2.	Large burghs (average)	23s11d	8·53p	£24·56	22s2d	10·92p	£29·19	21s9d	11·17p	£29·59
3.	Study area, all parts	18s7d	8·87p	£23·79	17s1d	10·13p	£26·20	16s0d	10·37p	£24·78
4.	Large burgh A	22s0d	9·63p	£25·24	21s0d	10·75p	£27·13	20s10d	10·76p	£26·68
5.	Large burgh B	25s2d	10·21p	£30·66	24s0d	11·41p	£33·27	21s6d	12·14p	£31·27

Table 2.2 Rate Poundage, Product of a Penny Rate and Rate Receipts per capita in Scotland and in the study area during the years when the subjects left school.

Column 1. Rate Poundage. Throughout the county this varies considerably, as the small burghs and the separately rated parts of the landward area have their own rate poundage. The figure given in Column 1 Row 3 is the county rate plus domestic water rate.

Column 2. Product of a Penny Rate divided by the Population, results given in new pence per head.

Column 3. Rate Receipts divided by the Population, results given in pounds per head.

Note: The population figures used in compiling this table were the Registrar General's mid-yearly estimates. The 1966 Sample Census indicated that in the case of the area studied these were slight over-estimates. Between 1961 and 1966 the populations of the county as a whole and of the two large burghs had been declining slightly more than was estimated.

	Net Capital Debt	Net Capital Expenditure	Total Revenue Expenditure	Net Revenue Expenditure	Net Expenditure per Pupil	Number of Day Pupils per Teacher
1965-66	11276797	1259942	8680815	8418726	£147.4s.7d. (138.6.9.)	21 (21)
1966-67	11768416	937852	9743282	9443556	£163.11s.5d. (155.1.1.)	20 (22)
1967-68	12799333	1413404	10001000	9637000	£165.2s.7d. (156.18.7.)	19 (21)
1968-69	14162488	1772586	10710000	10315000	£167.19s.11d. (162.13.4.)	20 (20)

Table 2.3. Local authority expenditure on Education in the area of the follow-up study during the research period.

Note. The figures in brackets show national averages.

large burghs. In one centre it takes the form of a day special school, in the others it consists of special classes attached to ordinary schools. When the research was carried out, the total accommodation for mentally handicapped pupils at any one time was 424 places (figures taken from Handicapped Pupils in Scotland issued by the Scottish Education Department). There is no residential special school for the mentally handicapped. On rare occasions the authority sends mentally handicapped pupils to a residential school run by a voluntary organisation. Of the 56682 pupils for whom the authority was responsible in 1967, 439 had been ascertained as being mentally handicapped. 438 of these mentally handicapped pupils attended the day special school or special classes and 1 attended a residential school run by the Rudolph Steiner Association. (These figures were supplied by the Director of Education. Turnover of pupils during the year would account for the fact that these numbers slightly exceed the number of places available.)

iii) The Schools

School A. Here one all-age class for mentally handicapped pupils was attached to a Junior Secondary School. Accommodation for the special class was in a prefabricated building across a playground from the main school. The building consisted of a large classroom, plus cloakroom and toilet facilities for the pupils and similar facilities for the staff. The approach to the classroom through the concrete-floored

cloakroom section was bleak and the lack of accommodation in the school was such that some of the testing had to be done in the staff washroom with the tester's chair in the doorway of the W.C. section. Although there were obvious advantages in having toilet facilities attached to the classroom, the completeness of the unit for the mentally handicapped tended to emphasise its isolation from the rest of the school. The senior girls went over to the main school one morning per week to participate in cookery lessons. (At the time of the research there were no boys of the appropriate age to take woodwork lessons with the boys in the main school.) The impression given to the author by the arrangements in the special classroom was one of considerable confusion. The fact that all ages had to be catered for in one room no doubt contributed to this. Most of the larger items of equipment appeared old and worn and, although there was a good deal of the jumble that can provide pupils with valuable material, there did not appear to be much that was new and stimulating.

Throughout the period during which visits were made (July 1965 - July 1967) the staff of the department consisted of one qualified woman teacher of long experience.

This school, including the department for mentally handicapped pupils, has since been re-housed in a new building.

School B. Here three special classes were attached to a Primary School. There was a mixed class for younger

children, a senior girls' and a senior boys' class. The three classrooms were situated in one wing of the main school and this wing also housed a staff room for the special class teachers, with its own toilet facilities, and a small sick room. There was a spacious and well-equipped cookery room where the senior girls spent one and a half days per week with a cookery instructress. The senior boys had two half days per week instruction in woodwork and a half day of leather work from visiting instructors, one of whom was a qualified teacher, and there appeared to be adequate accommodation for this. There was a small garden plot outside this wing which the boys helped to cultivate. Although not modern (one could not, for instance, look out of the windows) the building appeared clean and reasonably bright.

The senior boys' class was taught throughout the period during which visits were made by a qualified woman teacher who was head of the department. The senior girls during this time had three different class teachers, one man and two women, and the class for younger children also had several changes of staff.

School C. Provision for mentally handicapped pupils here consisted of two mixed classes, one for older, one for younger pupils, attached to a Primary School. The school was housed in a converted old building which formed three sides of a rectangular courtyard. On two sides were long blocks with three floors, across the end was a narrow third block and it was the ground floor of this block that the special classes occupied. They had two classrooms with their own entrance

lobby for coats, but shared toilet facilities with the pupils of the main school. There was no separate staff room for the special class teachers but they appeared to spend most of their breaks in their own inter-connecting classrooms. Although structurally the building had many disadvantages for use as a school (a great deal of stair-climbing was necessary, for instance), it was mellow and interesting and the inconveniences were less for the special class pupils who seldom used other rooms. The senior boys had one and a half hours per week of woodwork and one and a half hours per week of metalwork at a nearby secondary school where there were good facilities. An instructor came to their own class, where a bench was provided, to take them for one and a half hours of leatherwork. They also spent two mornings doing gardening at a local horticultural college which had excellent facilities and equipment. For the girls there was less provision. There was an electric iron and treadle sewing machine in their classroom and one of the class teachers took them for approximately three hours of needlework and knitting per week. During the period in which visits were made, an oven was installed in one of the classrooms which already had a sink, and thereafter a class-teacher took the senior girls for cookery one morning per week.

The senior class was taken throughout the period by a qualified woman teacher of long experience who had retired but returned. When the author first visited, the younger class was taught by a mature but unqualified woman teacher.

Later this class was taken over by a young, recently qualified, woman teacher.

School D. When the visits for the purposes of this research began, there were five mixed special classes here attached to a Primary School. There were six full-time qualified staff, five women and one man, one of the women being the non-teaching head of the department. By the end of the research period, however, the number of pupils had declined, the classes were reduced to four and the qualified full-time staff reduced to three women and one man, the head of the department being required to teach a class because of the fall in the numbers on roll.

The classes for mentally handicapped pupils occupied a wing of the main school building. This wing also contained cloakroom and toilet facilities for the pupils, a separate staff room for the special class teachers with its own toilet facilities and an office for the head of the department. The general accommodation was adequate, particularly after the decline in numbers, but some of the classrooms were small and the senior class was decidedly cramped.

Part-time staff took the senior girls for one afternoon of cookery and one afternoon of laundry per week and for two forty-minute periods of knitting. The senior boys had one afternoon per week of woodwork from a qualified teacher and one afternoon of cobbling or leather work. Most of the part-time staff were not fully qualified teachers. Girls and boys attended swimming lessons at the local baths, where they had half an hour per week in the water.

School E. This was a day special school not attached to an ordinary school. It occupied a building that had formerly been a large private house. There were four classes. That for the youngest children was mixed. There were two other classes for boys and one for girls. Having been designed as a private residence, the building had many disadvantages as a school. However, some of the pupils probably felt more at home in these surroundings than they would have done in a typical school building and, for the younger children at least, this may have provided some compensation for the structural disadvantages. The ground floor room used by the youngest children was spacious but the two first floor rooms used by the senior girls and boys were too small to allow much movement and the first floor room used by the intermediate boys was extremely cramped. There was, however, an additional small room which could be used for such activities as table-tennis or television viewing. The Headmaster's large ground-floor office was also used as a staff-room by the male members of staff. The women teachers had a separate staff room upstairs. The building was notably clean, the floors and woodwork always having a well-polished appearance, but some rooms, particularly the staff rooms, gave an impression of bleakness.

The senior boys' class was taught by the Headmaster. In addition to the Headmaster, there were two qualified full-time women teachers who remained throughout the period during which visits were made, although they gook over different classes after the retirement in July 1965 of the teacher of

the senior girls' class. In the period August 1965 - July 1967 the class for the youngest children had three different class teachers, two women and one man. Three part-time male instructors, of whom one was a qualified teacher, came to take the boys for half a day of woodwork and two half days of gardening and the girls and boys for a half day each of leatherwork. An instructress, who was not a qualified teacher but who had taken a course in domestic science, came in to take the senior girls for cookery for one full day per week.

School F. When visits by the author began, these three special classes, which had formerly been attached to a Junior Secondary School, were occupying an otherwise empty building, the secondary school having moved to new premises. The building was drab, the equipment and furnishings old and grubby (the chairs and floor covering in the staff room were in a particularly dilapidated condition) but there was ample space and a feeling of privacy for the mentally handicapped pupils and their teachers and efforts were made to maintain standards, for instance, the girls were encouraged to lay trays attractively when they helped to make coffee for the staff or brought lunch to a visitor. The three classes were mixed. At the time of the first and second visits, the staff consisted of one qualified woman teacher, who was head of the department and remained throughout the period of the visits, and two unqualified women teachers. A qualified male teacher came twice a week to take the older boys for woodwork and three instructresses, not fully qualified teachers, came in

to take cookery, gardening and physical education. At the time of the third visit, in June 1966, the two unqualified class teachers had been replaced by two qualified teachers, a man and a woman. The classes had been rearranged so that the head of the department taught the older girls and the male teacher the older boys. The third class, for the younger children, remained mixed.

Between the third and fourth visits the classes moved and were thereafter attached to the Primary School. Here they occupied a wing of the building. The special class teachers had their own separate staff room with toilet facilities. Although this was cleaner and more pleasantly furnished than the previous staff room, it was extremely cramped and some members of staff expressed a preference for their former conditions. The teacher who had taught the younger children had been replaced by another qualified woman teacher. Three of the part-time teachers no longer came to instruct the classes, as the class teachers themselves took physical education, the senior girls went one afternoon per week to a nearby secondary school for cookery and the senior boys attended the same secondary school for one and a half hours per week for woodwork. The gardening instructress continued to come to take the boys for two hours weekly.

iv) General Characteristics of the Schools

Although five sets of special classes were attached to ordinary schools (one to a Junior Secondary and four to Primary Schools), they were not integrated with these schools, except in the sense that the Headteacher of the main school was

responsible to the authority for their administration, handled their requisitions and allocated their resources. In all cases the special classes occupied a separate wing or block of the building. The teachers did not share a staff-room with the teachers in the main school but had their own room, except in the case of School C. Even in School C the teachers appeared to spend most of their leisure time in their own classrooms and to use the general staffroom seldom. In nearly all cases, the mentally handicapped pupils had their breaks at different times from those of the children in the main school so there was little mixing in the playgrounds. The special class pupils also took lunch at a different time from the pupils of the main school. During her visits and conversations with the staff, the author did not see, or hear mention of, any sharing of activities between the mentally handicapped pupils and the ordinary pupils, for example on Open Days or Sports Days.

Although the Headmasters occasionally visited the staffrooms of the special class departments while the author was there and relations were superficially cordial, one sensed in some cases an underlying tension between the special department staff and the Head and/or staff of the main school. As the author had no contact with the staff of the ordinary schools, it was not possible to assess the extent to which they shared, or were responsible for, this tension.

In some respects it would appear that such special classes attached to ordinary schools have the worst of both worlds. They are not masters in their own houses and have

to rely for their resources on Headteachers who may, or may not, have a special interest in, and knowledge of, handicapped pupils. On the other hand they are not compensated for this lack of autonomy by the existence of frequent contacts between their pupils and ordinary pupils or by contacts among the staff that might lessen the feeling of isolation sometimes experienced by teachers in special schools. Nevertheless, the author gained the impression that, despite their dissatisfactions, many of the special class staff did not really wish either for closer contacts with the main school or for complete independence and consequent responsibility. It must be admitted too that there was also a feeling of tension in the separate special school, in this case between the male and female staff.

Teachers were asked about the contacts between their older pupils and those from other secondary schools. Most replied that there were none. Even in the two cases where pupils attended nearby secondary schools for cookery or woodwork, they were reported not to mix socially with the pupils of these schools. Facilities and equipment for the mentally handicapped pupils were more limited than those for ordinary pupils, particularly at the secondary level. Subjects such as physical education, music, art and drama, which in many secondary schools are taken by specialist teachers, were taken, if at all, by classteachers. This may have benefited some mentally handicapped pupils who probably felt more secure and confident receiving continuous instruction from a familiar teacher, but it did mean that the range of contacts, particularly for older pupils, was more restricted than for

ordinary pupils. Several mentally handicapped pupils revealed in conversation that they were conscious of the superior facilities available in most secondary schools and resented the fact that these were denied to them. They mentioned the libraries, craft rooms and laboratories about which they had heard from siblings or from friends who attended ordinary schools.

The author originally hoped to compare the post-school adjustment of pupils from those special classes in the area which provided a systematic or intensive form of preparation for prospective leavers with the adjustment of pupils from classes where no such programme existed. In fact, none of the schools operated anything that might be called a course of preparation for leaving of the kind described, for instance, by Brennan (1963) and exemplified in Tansley and Brennan's School Leavers Handbook. (Such comparisons between schools as were made are described in Chapter 3.)

None of the schools had organised projects which took staff and pupils to work outside the school, nor were pupils sent out on assignments. In a few schools, the senior pupils, particularly the girls, went out to buy items of shopping for the staff or for cookery lessons but in one school the staff stated emphatically that they could not allow pupils out at all as they might get into trouble.

Official outings were few. In three of the six schools there had been none at all for mentally handicapped pupils in the year preceding the author's enquiries, although in one of these it was recalled that the boys had visited a

bakery two years before. In a fourth special department the only outing in the preceding year had been a visit by the girls to the Gas Showrooms for a cookery demonstration. In the fifth case there had been a visit to the Ideal Homes Exhibition in Edinburgh and the boys had visited a gas plant. The pupils of the special departments of the sixth school had had one outing during the year to see the new Tay Road Bridge. It was reported in this school that the senior boys occasionally visited a pit or bakery with the qualifiers from the Primary school but none had done so recently. This was the sum of the outings which the teachers could report as having occurred during the preceding year. In one school, the author was told that the grant for outings was made to the school as a whole, the implication being that the interests of the special classes had to compete with those of the main school. In another school it was reported that the authority would pay for one outing per year and that the money covered the bus fare only. Another head of department reported that there was a £6 annual excursion grant for the special class department which at that time consisted of three full classes and a small additional class. It was also reported by one teacher that the local Mental Health Association would, if requested, contribute towards the cost of an outing and one school received an outing donation from the Carnegie Trust.

Questioned about visits by outside speakers to address the senior mentally handicapped girls and boys, the staff of four schools said that there had been none at all during the preceding term. (In one of these, however, reference was

made to visits by the Minister of the Kirk and it is probable that some other schools received visits from the local Minister which they did not mention.) In one school representatives of the Police had been to give a talk to the pupils and in one school the senior girls had had a talk on hygiene from a State Registered Nurse. No other visits from outside speakers were recorded.

Some teachers seemed to accept the situation in which their pupils had very restricted contacts with the outside world, apparently either because they considered this desirable or because it had not occurred to them that things might be organised differently. Some of the older teachers (several special class teachers in the area were close to retiring age) may understandably have been somewhat deterred by the effort involved in organising and accompanying activities outside the school. Some teachers may indeed have felt more secure themselves with their own small group of pupils on their own home ground. Others, and by no means only young ones, expressed their frustration at the lack of encouragement they had received in trying to organise outings or talks from visiting speakers. There was a tendency to blame someone higher, the Head of the department, the Head of the main school or "the office." One wondered what change might be effected either by a few very determined teachers putting pressure on the authority or, from the other direction, by greater encouragement, interest and guidance from the appropriate officials of the local authority. Although a few teachers were naturally reluctant to criticise the authority to an outsider and said that they received all the

co-operation they required, it was clear that many felt discouraged and saw the special classes as a neglected part of the educational system.

The existence of this feeling of neglect may have been due in part to the practice by the local authority of putting the most junior of the deputy directors of education in charge of special education. The official seldom began his term in the appointment with specialized knowledge or experience of educating handicapped pupils and was frequently just beginning to develop an understanding of their problems when he was promoted. There were four holders of this post during the six-year research period.

The special school and four of the special departments started the morning session at 9.30 a.m. The special classes in School E started work at 9 a.m. The afternoon sessions for the special classes ended at 3 p.m., with the exception of School B where special class pupils left at 2.45 p.m. Although most teachers agreed that the transition to a full working day was made harder for mentally handicapped leavers by the shortness of their school day, they felt that little could be done about it.because these hours were largely determined by the length of the journeys of the school buses which conveyed most of the pupils to and from their homes over a wide area. At School C the head of the department stayed on for an hour after most of the pupils had left for the sake of two boys who had to wait for service buses.

Only one of the schools provided any evening activity for the pupils. Difficulties of transport were given as

the reason for this lack of provision but at School E a club was held one evening per week for former and senior pupils and this appeared to be quite well attended.

The author was somewhat surprised that no teachers were on duty to supervise children in the playgrounds but apparently it is not customary in this area to require teachers to perform playground duty. In most schools the author saw little sign of preparation of material for future lessons going on either in the lunch-hour or after the pupils had left in the afternoons. It may have been by coincidence that the author was not present on occasions when teachers were busily occupied with lesson preparation but she did gain the impression that some teachers were unwilling to experiment and some had been discouraged by lack of interest from undertaking projects that involved the use of new methods or materials and preferred to rely on their experience to teach in a routine and less effortful way. There were few imaginative wall displays to be seen and some displays seemed to be unchanged from one term to the next. In some cases teachers appeared to have their classes cleared up and be ready to leave the premises as soon as the school bus departed and seemed to resent any suggestion that they should do tasks connected with school work in the lunch-hour. At School C, however, at least one of the two special class teachers appeared to be readily available to pupils throughout the leisure time and several pupils were generally to be found busily occupied in the classroom during the lunch-hour, with the head of the department present, though not actually directing their

activities. In School E, where the weekly evening club was held, the special classes held Open Days to which not only parents, friends and officials were invited but also the Headteachers of neighbouring schools. A good deal of activity was directed towards these special occasions which appeared to have an enlivening effect upon the pupils.

v) The Youth Employment Service

In most parts of Scotland the Youth Employment Service is the responsibility of the Department of Employment and Productivity. However, the area in which the follow-up study was conducted was one of the twelve in which the service is administered by the local education authority. Figures supplied by the Scottish Education Department show that the local authority's expenditure on this service in 1965-66, the year in which the research began, was £32,467. According to the 1961 Census, the population of the area in the 10-14 year age group, which would have been the relevant section of the population by 1965-66, was 28,957. The expenditure on the service per head of the appropriate age group was therefore approximately £1·12. The expenditure on the service of the twelve local education authorities who were responsible for its administration in their areas was £298,515 in 1965-66 and the population of these areas in the appropriate age-group (10-14 years at the 1961 Census) was 281,563. The average expenditure of the twelve education authorities per head of this age-group was therefore approximately £1·06. (The per capita figures are approximations only, as there would have been some movement of population

since 1961.)

The staff of the Youth Employment Service in the county selected for the follow-up study consisted of a Principal Youth Employment Officer, five Area Youth Employment Officers, and another Youth Employment Officer attached to each office. All the officers were graduates. The Area Youth Employment Officers had all taken the training course of the Central Youth Employment Executive and refresher courses, two having taken a course in the placing of handicapped young people. The Principal Youth Employment Officer had read psychology as one of the subjects in his degree course and was a member of the local Association for Mental Health.

No single officer was responsible for placing the handicapped young people throughout the county. All the officers placed the mentally handicapped young people in their areas as part of their normal work.

In placing leavers from ordinary schools the Youth Employment Officers adopted a procedure which took into account a) teachers' ratings of traits, b) continuous records of the pupils' progress (these were kept over several years so that reliance was not placed on the opinion of any one teacher nor were reports determined by only one short period in the pupil's school life) and c) the results of interest tests. This procedure was not used, however, for pupils from special classes. No standardised tests were administered to them and for information about their school records the Youth Employment Officers relied mainly on conversations with the school

staff. Shortly before a pupil left a special class, his teacher completed a short form (Appendix 1). On this the pupil's abilities and disabilities were described briefly for the benefit of the Youth Employment Officer but the information provided was generally very limited.

Details of the interview procedures as they concerned the subjects of this study are given in Chapter 4Ai, where there is a description of the way in which these particular young people were placed.

vi) The General Employment Situation

Unemployment was relatively low at the time of the follow-up study. In Great Britain the percentage rate on the total register rose from 1·5 in 1966, when the first group of subjects left school, to 2·4 in 1969, when the employment follow-up of the last group of subjects was completed. The comparable figures for Scotland were 2·9% to 3·8%. This was not a steady increase. There was a rise of approximately 1% from 1966 to 1967 and thereafter the unemployment rate was more or less constant until the end of the follow-up period. At the end of that period, however, the unemployment rates in the two large burgh's included in the study area were 4·5% and 5·5%.

The area in which the study was conducted had suffered periods of high unemployment in the past, but in more recent years there had been considerable development and most Youth Employment Officers were reasonably satisfied with the situation. In September 1966 one reported that 3·4% of that summer's school leavers were unemployed. The following

month another reported that at her office the percentage of Summer leavers unemployed was 3·1. In May 1967 a third Youth Employment Officer commented "There is little unemployment here -- this Summer's leavers are being absorbed quite easily." In one part of the county, however, considerable difficulty was experienced. At the beginning of 1968 the Youth Employment Officer in this part, wrote "With regard to the employment situation locally, it is more or less unchanged. Most vacancies lie outwith this central area of the county. For girls there is a lack of good shop and office vacancies, but still plenty of factory work. Some of the factory work is suitable for special class pupils but many find the new machines, e.g. in the machining factories, more complicated and they are fast and difficult to manage. The problem with girls is not so much the quantity but the quality of the jobs. For boys there is a lack in quantity and quality except for the good 'O' grade pupils. This means that boys who would in other areas be in engineering are in building, who would be in building are in semi-skilled work, and who would be in semi-skilled are in unskilled work. This tends to push out the less able at the end and causes a definite problem for the mentally handicapped. At present only a few small firms are scheduled to enter the area and so the picture is rather gloomy."

vii) Health and Welfare Services

The welfare services, including the supervision of mentally handicapped young people recommended for further care on leaving school, were administered by the county authority except in the two large burghs where welfare was the responsibility of the burgh authorities. In each case these services came under the authority of a Medical Officer of Health as part of the function of the local health authority. (The administrative structure has since been reorganized and the services are now the responsibility of the recently established Social Services Departments.)

Table 2.4 shows the expenditure per head of the population on welfare services of the county and the two large burghs during the research period. The national average figures for each class of authority are given in brackets.

	County	Large Burgh A	Large Burgh B
1965-66	9s.11d. (11s.2d.)	18s.3d. (14s.5d.)	17s. 8d.
1966-67	12s. 1d. (12s.10d.)	19s.6d. (16s.6d.)	19s. 6d.
1967-68	14s. 2d. (15s. 4d.)	21s.2d. (18s.5d.)	21s. 6d.
1968-69	16s. 5d. (16s. 7d.)	24s.1d. (22s.0d.)	22s.10d.

Table 2.4. Local authority expenditure per head of population on Welfare Services in the area of the follow-up study during the research period.

There was a Senior Training Centre in each of the two large burghs and one in the county. In these Centres some sub-assembly work was done on contract from local firms and for a period one centre had an informal arrangement with a sympathetic firm whereby an effort was made to bring the more

able trainees to the standard required for work in that firm. The Centres were not, however, sheltered workshops nor vocational training establishments. Throughout this report the author has referred to them as Senior Occupation Centres as this was the name still generally used by teachers and officials in the area at the time of the research and she considered that use of the term Senior Training Centres might cause confusion if it has not yet been commonly adopted there.

B. Outline of the Follow-Up Study

i) Potentially Predictive Information

The young people studied were those who left special school or classes for mentally handicapped pupils in July 1966, February 1967 and July 1967.

The statutory leaving age for special class pupils is sixteen years. All the pupils studied, except two, had attained the age of sixteen when they left or were within a few weeks of their sixteenth birthdays. The two exceptions were upgraded after taking one set of tests for the purposes of this study and left in July 1965 at the ages of fifteen years two months and fifteen years four months. (The term upgrading refers to the process more commonly known in England as de-ascertainment.)

Sixty-six mentally handicapped young people were interviewed and tested during their last few weeks at school. The tests used were Schonell's Graded Word Reading Test, the Staffordshire Arithmetic Test, the Coloured Progressive

Matrices, the Crichton Vocabulary Scale, the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation and a non-standardised test of social knowledge. The tests and the reasons for choosing them are described in Chapter 3ii.

Thirty-seven of these young people were tested one year earlier on the same battery of tests. Apart from the incidental advantages of providing the author with additional opportunities to visit the schools and to see how much progress the pupils made in their final school year, testing a proportion of the subjects twice made it possible, by estimating test-retest correlations, to assess the reliability of the tests when used with this atypical population, atypical because of its restricted range of ability and age. On the other hand, by testing a proportion of the subjects once only, it was possible to assess the effects of pre-testing.

All the tests were given at the pupil's own school. All the tests were administered to the pupils individually, except the arithmetic tests. All individual tests were given by the author and the author supervised the small groups of pupils taking the arithmetic test (with the exception of one pupil who took the arithmetic test under the supervision of the head of the department as described in Chapter 3ii).

Five pupils whom the author tested with the intention of retesting them in their final weeks at school were not available for re-testing. One had died, one had removed to England and could not be traced, one had been committed to an Approved School and two were absent from school throughout the

greater part of their final half-term. Three of these five pupils who were not available for re-test were nevertheless included in the collection of follow-up information. Also included in the follow-up were three young people who had not been tested but had left school at the appropriate leaving dates. One had not been available for testing because he was undergoing a serious operation, one was ill and the attendance of the third was so irregular during his last few weeks at school that it proved impossible to interview him. Of the seventy-three young people who left the schools at the appropriate dates, follow-up information was therefore obtained on seventy-two, sixty-six of whom had been tested in their final few weeks at school, three of whom had been tested at some time although not in their last few weeks before leaving, and three of whom had not been tested. A good deal of possibly predictive information, such as intelligence quotients, teachers' ratings of personality, details of home background and physical disabilities and illnesses, was available for the non-tested as well as for the tested subjects.

The intelligence quotients given in this report are those recorded by the county's Educational Psychologist or one of her team, using the Terman-Merrill scale. The reasons for accepting this assessment, rather than including a further intelligence test in the battery, and a discussion of some of the disadvantages of its acceptance, with particular reference to the use of Terman-Merrill are set out in Chapter 3i.

Shortly after the pupils left school, the Heads of the

special class departments and the Headmaster of the special school were asked to rate them on five personality traits. The scales used were those developed by Matthew (1964) for the purposes of his study of the post-school adjustment of sixty-two leavers from an E.S.N. school in Wallasey. Matthew had found that teachers' ratings, using these scales, were significantly related to the employment success of his boys and the author therefore decided to test the effectiveness of the scales in the different circumstances of the present study. Copies of the rating forms are included among the Appendices (Appendix 2). The traits on which the subjects were rated were reliability, honesty, perseverance, emotional maturity and industry. The reasons for Matthew's selection of these particular traits and his development of the scales are described in Chapter 3iii. In this present study the ratings were obtained a few weeks after the pupils had left school, before sufficient time had elapsed for the rater's judgement to be contaminated by knowledge of the ratee's post-school progress but long enough after the leaving date for the rater's assessment not to be unduly influenced by any particular recent incident in the pupil's school life.

After the testing had been completed, information was taken from school files about the date and circumstances of the pupil's ascertainment. Later, information was obtained from the records of the School Medical Officer and from conversations with the M.O.H. of one large burgh, the Depute M.O.H. of the other large burgh and the Assistant Medical Officer responsible for mental health services in the county.

Notes were made on the pupils' home and family backgrounds, on their case histories, including any illnesses or periods in hospital, and on any physical disabilities from which they suffered. The records were not always complete and information from them was supplemented or corrected by information on family background contained in later reports by Mental Welfare Officers and by information obtained by the interviewer who made the final assessment of the young people's social adjustment (cf. Chapter 2Biii). The subjects' home backgrounds are discussed in Chapter 3v, and their health records and physical disabilities in Chapter 3iv.

ii) Employment Adjustment

Before the pupils left school, arrangements had been made for the author to contact each Area Youth Employment Officer at intervals to check on the employment progress of those subjects who were resident in his area. The first check for each leaver was made one month after he left and thereafter checks were made at six-monthly intervals. For the first two checks made in the course of the study the author visited each Area Youth Employment Officer and herself completed the appropriate form during the interview. When this contact had been established and the author was satisfied that the officers were familiar with the purposes and methods of the study, further checks were made by sending forms to the Youth Employment Officers for them to complete, although it was always understood that the author would visit them to discuss any cases which they thought should be

discussed. Copies of the forms used are included among the Appendices (Appendix 3).

The information collected at each check included the dates at which the young people took up their jobs, the nature of their occupations, whether they had been placed by the Youth Employment Officer, their wages and conditions of work, the dates at which they left jobs and their reasons for doing so.

Two years after the young person had left school (which in most cases was when he was approximately eighteen, at which time his papers were transferred to the Department of Employment and Productivity) his total time in employment was calculated and this total was recorded, together with the number of jobs he had held, his starting wage and his earnings at eighteen.

It was recognised that a combination of the length of time in employment and the number of jobs held was not an entirely satisfactory criterion of employment adjustment. Some former special class pupils had held their jobs for considerable periods in open competition with young people from ordinary schools and in circumstances where no concessions were made to their handicaps, whereas others had been enabled to continue working only by sympathetic treatment from employers and workmates and by having easy tasks to perform. Before the completion of the study, therefore, an attempt was made to obtain an assessment of the quality of the work of those who were in employment.

The author did not favour a direct approach by herself to employers, as this might have been an unwelvome intrusion

into the subjects' working lives and in a few cases might even have been prejudicial to their prospects. Also, although resident in the area, the author did not have an intimate working knowledge of industrial conditions nor of the standards an employer would expect of ordinary young workers.

An alternative approach would have been for each Area Youth Employment Officer to make an assessment of the work of each employed subject resident in his area. One advantage of having the approach to an employer made by a Youth Employment Officer was the unlikelihood of this being prejudicial to the young person's interests, since at intervals the Youth Employment Officers make routine checks on the progress of a number of young people, not only those from special classes. However, a disadvantage of this method of assessment would have been the variations in the standards of the assessors which would almost certainly have existed despite the fact that they were all experienced in youth employment work. With each Youth Employment Officer assessing the job performance of only those subjects in his own area there would have been no means of correcting for any bias.

The Principal Youth Employment Officer generously offered the co-operation of himself and his officers in a more complex procedure which would obviate the problem of varying standards among assessors and would also provide the author with a substantial body of descriptive material without the need for her to intervene personally in the relationship between a subject and his employer.

Accordingly, the author drew up a questionnaire for employers. A copy of this is supplied as Appendix 4. A questionnaire form was taken personally by a Youth Employment Officer to each firm in which a subject was employed. In some small firms, the forms were completed by the owners. In other firms, managers, training officers or personnel officers completed them. After an interval, the Youth Employment Officers personally collected the forms, checking that they had been completed adequately, and returned them to the Principal Youth Employment Officer. When all the forms were returned, nine Youth Employment Officers serving in the county read them and rated the job success of the young people concerned on a five-point scale. The raters were all fully qualified and experienced in their work and included the Principal Youth Employment Officer himself. Each of the nine raters independently rated the job performance of every young person for whom a form had been returned on the basis of the information contained in the replies. (The Youth Employment Officers also obtained completed returns from Supervisors for the young people attending Senior Training Centres and separately rated their success in working in the sheltered conditions.)

The instructions given to the raters are to be found as Appendix 5. It was emphasised that this was to be a rating of the young person's performance in a particular job, not of his employment record as a whole. In most cases the Youth Employment Officers did not in fact know anything about the young person's record beyond the job in question.

Ideally perhaps reports on the young people's job performances would have been obtained at equal intervals after their school leaving dates. Administratively, however, such a procedure would have been difficult to organise and it would have had its own disadvantages. Had reports been collected from employers at intervals and placed at intervals before a panel of raters, changes in the Youth Employment staff might have resulted in changes in the composition, or a reduction in numbers, of the assessment panel. Even the assessors who remained might have modified their standards or forgotten their bases of comparison in the intervals. Had reports been collected at intervals from the employers and retained to be placed all together before a single panel of assessors, some of the Youth Employment Officers might not have had experience of conditions in the area at the time some reports were written. Collection of the reports at intervals would have been a more complicated procedure for the Youth Employment Officers, their enthusiasm for the project might have diminished and there was more likelihood of reports going astray before the rating procedure was completed. Without any further complication, the procedure adopted involved a considerable amount of work for the Youth Employment Officers and without their generous help no assessment of this kind would have been possible.

Even had each young person been rated on job performance at exactly the same interval after leaving school, this would not have overcome the problem of some subjects being unemployed at the selected time and consequently having no rating. In

the circumstances, the procedure adopted seemed the one likely to yield the most useful and reliable information. The reliability of the raters, which was encouragingly high, and the findings in this part of the study are discussed in Chapter 4Aiv.

Each of the employment variables (length of time in employment, number of jobs held, Youth Employment Officers' rating of job performance, starting wage and earnings at eighteen) was separately correlated with the prognostic variables. In addition, a new variable was devised, indicating overall employment adjustment. A table was drawn up showing length of time in employment x number of jobs held (Table 4.1). A person's rating on the overall employment adjustment scale was determined largely by his place on this table but modified by the Youth Employment Officers' rating of his job success. Starting wage and earnings at eighteen were not taken into consideration when the subject's rating on the overall employment variable was determined because they had been found not to relate closely to performance. High earnings were sometimes achieved temporarily by those who changed jobs frequently. Some of the most consistently steady workers earned relatively low wages but over the total period their earnings were probably greater than those of the subjects who held jobs with high wages for short periods. After the subjects had been allocated to their positions on the overall employment scale, this variable was correlated with the prognostic variables. The analysis and the inter-relations of the employment variables are discussed in Chapter 4Av. A

separate discussion of earnings appears in Chapter 4Axi.

iii) Social Adjustment

After the pupils had left school, occasional information about their social adjustment was obtained from Children's Officers, from Probation Officers, from contacts made on further visits to the schools and from Youth Employment Officers during checks on their employment progress.

In the summer of 1968 the appropriate Medical Officers of the county and the two large burghs agreed that the Mental Welfare Officers should report to the author on the young people's adjustment thus far and their current home circumstances. A form was designed by the author to indicate to the Mental Welfare Officers the type of information that was required (Appendix 6). A covering letter to the Medical Officers explained that the headings and questions on the form were intended as guidelines to the required content and that if the officers preferred not to use the forms but to write reports in their own way, covering the points in a different order, they were welcome to do so. In all cases, however, the officers chose to use the form. The lay-out had been designed to encourage them to write freely and descriptively round the points but few did so. Most gave brief answers and some confined themselves to a series of yes/no responses. The nature of these reports and the information they contained is discussed in Chapter 4Bi. As part of their reports the Mental Welfare Officers were asked to rate the support given by his home and family to each young person and also to rate the young person's adjustment since leaving school. These ratings were

for general interest and were not accepted as criterion variables as there was no way of comparing the standards of the various raters.

The fact that no single social worker visited the homes of all the young people made reliance on ratings of adjustment by the local authority's home visitors unsatisfactory. It would also have been unsatisfactory for the author herself to have rated the young people's social adjustment since she had previous knowledge of their case histories, school records and test scores and this might have contaminated her judgement. Therefore an independent assessor with no knowledge of the young people's scores on the predictive variables nor on the criterion variables of employment adjustment was appointed to visit the homes, to interview the young people and their parents or guardians and to rate them on various aspects of social adjustment. This task obviously required a high degree of skill and experience as a social worker plus an understanding of research requirements. The person appointed had a first class honours degree in Sociology, nineteen years' experience as a social worker, mainly with Children's Departments, and four years experience as a research worker, including two years as Senior Research Officer for the National Bureau for Co-operation in Child Care and one year as a Research Fellow at an Oxford college. Her previous appointment had been with the Department of Health and Social Security.

Of the various types of interview possible, both the author and the independent assessor preferred the semi-

structured type for the purpose of this research. In consultation they constructed an interview schedule (Appendix 7a). This included sections devoted to the composition of the household, housing, the health of the subject and his family, the subject's ability to look after himself, his helpfulness in the home, his handling of money, his leisure pursuits and his relationships with friends and family. A second form (Appendix 7b) was provided for the assessor to record, after the interview was completed, the circumstances in which it took place, her impressions of the interviewees and any other potentially useful information.

As the interviewer was very experienced, the author recognised that she would have evolved her own way of handling interview situations and that interviews were most likely to be successful if she could carry them out in a way that was natural for her. She was therefore given full responsibility to conduct the interviews as she considered best in the situation. Before undertaking visits to the subjects' homes, she accompanied Child Care Officers in the area on visits to a range of homes in order to familiarise herself with conditions and standards in the county generally.

The interviewer's initial approach to parents was made by unnotified home visit. If it was not a convenient time for an interview, she arranged to return another time. She felt that some parents who might refuse if contacted first by letter would be reassured if she could talk with them. This proved to be correct, as some parents were at first reluctant to be interviewed, several were openly aggressive, even abusive,

but none completely refused to discuss the subject and those who were initially hostile parted from her on friendly terms, some even inviting her to call again. One attempted interview was, however, counted as a refusal and the boy was not rated, although in a thirty-minute doorstep conversation his mother provided a good deal of information about him. The interviewer's explanation of the study to parents and the information obtained in the interviews are discussed in Chapter 4Bii.

On the basis of the information obtained, the interviewer rated the young people on five-point scales for financial independence, executive independence, participation in community activities, satisfaction derived from leisure pursuits, household responsibilities and a separate scale of overall social adjustment. The social adjustment variables were then correlated with the predictive variables and with the employment adjustment variables. A description of the results of this analysis is given in Chapter 4Bviii and ix.

C. Outline of the General Survey

i) Questionnaires to local authorities and schools

In March 1966, a questionnaire was sent to local authorities in Scotland, asking about the number of mentally handicapped pupils in their areas and the facilities available to help such pupils when they left school. The authorities were asked about the provision of vocational training, hostel accommodation, sheltered employment, recreational facilities and further education and about any special arrangements

for placing the mentally handicapped in employment. The questionnaire and covering letter are given as Appendix 8a, and 8b.

In the original letter it was intimated to the authorities that they would be asked to co-operate further by arranging for completion in the schools attended by mentally handicapped pupils of a questionnaire dealing with the pupils who were due to leave each school in June/July 1966. Copies of this questionnaire were sent out in June 1966 (Appendix 9a). One covering letter (Appendix 9b) was sent to those authorities which had returned the first form, a slightly different letter (Appendix 9c) was sent to those from whom no reply had been received.

A letter of reminder and a further copy were sent out in the autumn of 1966 to those authorities who had not returned any of the forms. In the Spring of 1970 a letter (Appendix 8c) was sent to local authorities asking what changes there had been in services for mentally handicapped school leavers since 1966.

The replies from local authorities and schools are discussed in Chapter 6.

ii) Youth Employment Officers' Records of the Employment of 329 Mentally Handicapped Leavers in their first nine months after leaving school

The help of the Youth Employment Service was sought in carrying out a check on the employment of mentally handicapped school leavers in Scotland in their first few months after leaving. An approach was made to officers of the Scottish Headquarters of the Central Youth Employment

Executive who agreed to co-operate. (In all but twelve of the Scottish counties the Youth Employment Service is run by the Department of Employment and Productivity.) The author designed a form to be submitted for the approval of the Central Youth Employment Executive (Appendix 10a). This form was intended for completion by Youth Employment Officers, a separate form being provided for each leaver. No name was to be entered on the form but in the first section, which was to be completed at the time the pupil left school, the Youth Employment Officer was to fill in the school leaving date and details of age, sex, any disability additional to that of mental handicap and whether the young person was seeking employment. In case the C.Y.E.E. considered that use of this form might not accord with the principle of confidentiality of records observed by the Department of Employment and Productivity, an alternative form (Appendix 10b) was also submitted. However, the C.Y.E.E. agreed to the use of the forms for individuals and the staff of the Scottish Headquarters agreed to circulate copies of the form with instructions to Youth Employment Officers before the school leaving date in June/July 1967. (The date varies slightly in different parts of Scotland.) It was arranged that the Youth Employment Officers would keep records of the young people's employment and that in April 1968 they would bring the record section of the form up to date and return the forms to the staff at Headquarters who would check them before forwarding them to the author. This was done and the results are discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3. THE FOLLOW-UP STUDY
DISCUSSION OF THE PREDICTIVE VARIABLES

i) Intelligence

There were a number of reasons why a test of general intelligence was not included among the tests given to the subjects by the author. (Although the Coloured Progressive Matrices and a vocabulary scale were included, they were not used as a basis for calculating intelligence quotients.) One reason was the fact that the author wished to avoid using any test that might later be required for use in the routine examination of the pupil by those responsible for determining his future. Another reason was the fact that the author was not a trained psychologist and her use of an instrument normally reserved for use by the professionally qualified might not have been welcomed by the staff of the School Psychological Service. Thirdly, the intelligence quotient assigned to a pupil in the course of his school career by the Educational Psychologist is the only one normally available to teachers and the various officers concerned with placing the young people. Since this is the intelligence quotient with which they have to work, it seemed reasonable for the author to work with it too and to test its usefulness as a predictor of attainment on leaving school and of post-school adjustment.

It was recognised that there were disadvantages in not giving the pupils an intelligence test specifically for the purposes of this study. Their intelligence quotients had been derived from their performances on the Terman-Merrill

revision of the Standford-Binet test of intelligence (in most cases Form L had been used) and it has been argued that this test is not a satisfactory one for the assessment of the intelligence of mentally handicapped pupils. Professor A.D.B. Clarke has suggested that the increased verbal weighting at the higher age levels of the test is responsible for the decrease in I.Q. found among children of low intelligence "since commonly verbal assets are more seriously impaired in E.S.N. children than are performance assets." (Rushton and Stockwin, 1963). The main argument concerning the Terman-Merrill scale centres around a possible weakness in the standardisation which, it is claimed, results in a lack of independence from chronological age (Roberts and Mellone, 1952). Among those who are of the opinion that this produces an apparent, unreal, decline in the intelligence quotient, there is some disagreement as to the age at which that decline in low intelligence quotients ceases and a rise begins (Scarr, 1953). Although the Roberts-Mellone corrections are widely used and some authors have found their use with E.S.N. pupils fully justified (Collman and Newlyn, 1958), the utility of such a correction table has been challenged, for instance by Stott (1960) who concludes that retest discrepancies among mentally subnormal children might in large part be due to real variations in the rate of mental development.

It is necessary to bear this argument in mind when one considers the recorded intelligence quotients of the subjects of this study, who were ascertained at various ages and not

systematically retested. Examination of their records showed that in cases where several Terman-Merrill test results were recorded for one pupil, most, but not all, showed a decline in intelligence quotient with age. Whether this decline was due to faulty standardisation of the test or to a real deceleration of mental development or to the depressing effect of education in the restricted company and environment of a special class, could not have been determined without a far more thorough investigation than the author was in a position to make, this being only one aspect of a much wider study concerned mainly with the young people's post-school adjustment. What was shown in this study was that the Terman-Merrill intelligence quotients, as assessed by various members of the School Psychological Service and recorded in the school files, did not provide a very useful method of discrimination among this population of mentally handicapped young people, particularly with regard to their general efficiency of functioning. They did not provide much guidance to Youth Employment Officers and others responsible for the young people's welfare about the likelihood of any subject making a satisfactory adjustment to employment. The correlations between the subjects' most recently recorded intelligence quotients and their scores on the tests administered by the author shortly before they left school are shown in Table 3.1, wherein are also shown the correlations between their latest recorded intelligence quotients and their post-school adjustment.

The mean intelligence quotient of all the mentally handicapped pupils involved at some stage in the study was

	r	n	p
Reading	0·27	66	$<0·05$
Arithmetic	0·32	66	$<0·01$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·29	66	$<0·05$
Vocabulary	0·63	66	$<0·01$
Manchester Scales	0·38	65	$<0·01$
Social Knowledge	0·57	66	$<0·01$
Teacher's Combined Ratings	0·16	62	$>0·05$
Additional Disability	-0·24	74	$<0·05$
Family Size	0·15	73	$>0·05$
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	-0·25	73	$<0·05$
Weeks Worked in two years	0·28	70	$<0·05$
Overall Employment Adjustment	0·29	66	$<0·05$
Overall Social Adjustment	0·31	66	$<0·05$
Total Social Adjustment	0·36	66	$<0·01$

Table 3.1. Relations between I.Q. and scores on the other potentially predictive variables and relations between I.Q. and post-school adjustment.

62·22 SD 6·7. The mean I.Q. of the 39 girls was 61·69. The mean I.Q. of the 35 boys was 62·80. The difference was not significant; $F_{1,72} = 0{\cdot}49$; $p > 0{\cdot}25$. The mean I.Q. of the 66 subjects who took the tests in their last few weeks before leaving school was 62·29. The mean I.Q. of the 37 of these subjects who took the tests twice with a year's interval was 61·80 SD 6·0.

As Table 3.1 shows, there was a positive association between measured intelligence and post-school adjustment, the association between I.Q. and social adjustment being marginally stronger than that between I.Q. and employment adjustment. The distribution of the young people on employment adjustment was non-normal, so the tests of significance for correlations with the adjustment variables reported in Table 3.1 were repeated using a distribution-free one-tail test (Kendall's tau). In each case the p value reported in the table was confirmed.

These results may be compared with those of Jackson (1967) who found a relationship, significant at the 1% level, between I.Q. and self-support among his subjects generally and between I.Q. and cultural conformity and inter-personal relationships in his female sample and an association significant at the 5% level between I.Q. and employment adjustment in his male sample. Matthew (1964) did not find a significant assocation between I.Q. and success or failure in employment. Robertson (1958) and Collins and Speake (1959) did find a significant relationship between measured intelligence and occupational success. The results of the present study,

however, do not support Robertson's statement in discussing the employment of his E.S.N. subjects: "It seems that intelligence is the chief factor in determining a child's chance of success." Although a significant relationship between I.Q. and post-school adjustment was found in the present study, it was not a large one and not nearly so strong as the relationship between post-school adjustment and a number of other predictive variables.

ii) The Tests

a. General Administration

Before undertaking the study in the selected area, the author administered the tests she proposed to use to fifteen boys and girls aged between fourteen and sixteen in a school for mentally handicapped pupils in a neighbouring area. On the basis of their responses, modifications were made in the administration of one of the tests (Chapter 3iif) and five other tests were retained in the battery. Having taught E.S.N. pupils for four years, the author had experience of talking with, and testing, pupils of this age in this range of ability and had also made frequent use of some of the tests employed in the study. All tests were administered in the pupil's own school. All tests were administered individually with nobody other than tester and testee present, with the exception of the arithmetic test which was taken in each school by small groups under the supervision of the author. Each group consisted of all the pupils of that school of an appropriate age to leave at one leaving date among the three dates selected, i.e. all the pupils who were also being given the individual tests during the same week. To avoid practice effects, tests were chosen which were not already in common use in the schools which the subjects attended. An attempt was made, however, to choose mainly tests that were readily available and easily administered so that, if any were found to be of predictive value, replication of the research would not be dependent upon the availability of a highly trained tester. This is not to suggest that any

of the tests can be effective if administered carelessly without experience of their use with backward pupils or without proper adherence to the instructions, but it is one reason why, for instance, simple, well-known, well-standardised tests of attainment were used in preference to the more complicated tests that would be useful for diagnosing specific weaknesses. Another factor in the choice was the need for the tester to maintain a balance between avoiding fatigue for the subject and allowing him ample time to respond, because mentally handicapped pupils do not usually perform to the best of their ability either when constrained to concentrate for too long on one type of exercise or when pressed for time. The author realised that the tests of social adaptation would be time-consuming since rapport would be lost and useful information not revealed if the subjects' conversations were too often interrupted in order to hurry them on. It therefore seemed desirable, when testing other aspects of the subjects' development, to use short, simple tests if these were available and were adequate for the purpose of this study, the main purpose being to discriminate among these particular subjects, not to compare them with normal pupils nor to diagnose their particular difficulties in order to devise educational programmes for them.

Sixty-six pupils were tested during their last few weeks at school. Their mean age on taking these tests was 16·00 years SD 0·27. Their mean I.Q. was 62·29.

Thirty-seven of these pupils were also tested a year earlier. The mean age of these pupils at the time of taking their first set of tests was 15·02 years SD 0·14. Their mean I.Q. was 61·76 SD 6.01. Among those who took the tests twice with an interval of one year, the correlation between age on taking the tests the first time and age on taking them the second time was 0·94.

The one-year test-retest correlation for each test is given in the appropriate sub-section of section ii of Chapter 3.

There were five pupils who took the tests six months before leaving. This was due to the fact that, although they would have been included in the group tested a year before leaving had the author been notified in time, their Headteachers did not know or report a year beforehand that they would be leaving at one of the selected leaving dates. Three of these five pupils were among the sixty-six tested again in their last few weeks at school. Their results are not, however, included in the test-retest correlations because of the difference in the time interval. They were included in the assessment of the effects of pretesting. (Two of these five pupils had very unsatisfactory attendance records and were not available for retest because they were absent so frequently during the period in which testing took place.)

The effect of pretesting on the results of each test is stated in the appropriate sub-section. In no case was it found to be significant at the 5% level. The difference

in the mean I.Q. of the pretested group and of the non-pretested group was not found to be significant.

Pretested group = 61·5

Non-pretested group = 63·5

$F_{1,64}$ = 1.50; $p > 0.10$

Three young people were tested a year before they were due to leave but not tested again before leaving. By the time they were due for retest, one had died and one had removed to England where her address could not be traced. The third had been sent to an Approved School, but although he was not retested, details of his employment record were kept after he left school.

b. Reading

A simple word recognition test was chosen in preference to a more complicated analysis of reading ability as the test was required to provide an estimate of attainment and was not for diagnostic purposes. Enquiries revealed that the test most commonly used in the schools which the subjects attended was the Burt-Vernon. Use was seldom made of Schonell's Graded Word Reading Test. As use of this test would also facilitate comparison with a number of other follow-up studies in which the subjects' reading ages had been measured on Schonell's test, it was chosen for use in this study.

The mean Reading Age of the 66 pupils who were tested at a mean age of 16 years was 8·09 SD 2·00.

The mean Reading Age of the 37 pupils who took the test at a mean age of 15·02 years was 8·06 SD 1·21. The

mean Reading Age of these 37 pupils a year later was 8·38 SD 1·34. The one-year test-retest correlation was 0·97.

The mean Reading Age at 16 years of all 40 pupils to whom the author had previously given the test was 8·45, while the mean of the non-pretested group was 7·55. Although the difference between the pretested and non-pretested group was larger on this test than on any other, it was not found to be significant at the 5% level. $F_{1,64} = 3{\cdot}23$; $p > 0{\cdot}05$. As the mean of the pretested pupils was higher on their first test than that of the non-pretested at 16 years, it is obvious that they started at a higher level of reading attainment before testing began and their higher score at 16 would not have been the result of practice effects even had the difference proved to be significant.

The mean Reading Age of the 36 girls who took the test at a mean age of 16 was 8·52, the mean Reading Age of the 30 boys was 7·58. The difference was not quite significant at the 5% level. $F_{1,64} = 3{\cdot}72$; $p > 0{\cdot}05$.

No significant difference was found among the means of the pupils from the six different schools.

The relations between Reading Age and the other potentially predictive variables are shown in Table 3.2. This also shows that Reading Age, as measured by a word recognition test, had no significant relationship with post-school adjustment.

	r	n	p
I.Q.	0·27	66	$< 0·05$
Arithmetic	0·33	66	$< 0·01$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·10	66	$> 0·05$
Vocabulary	0·24	66	$> 0·05$
Manchester Scales	0·32	65	$< 0·01$
Social Knowledge	0·33	66	$< 0·01$
Teacher's Combined Ratings	0·25	56	$> 0·05$
Additional Disability	-0·24	66	$> 0·05$
Family Size	0·08	65	$> 0·05$
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	-0·07	65	$> 0·05$
Weeks Worked in two years	0·06	64	$> 0·05$
Overall Employment Adjustment	0·14	60	$> 0·05$
Overall Social Adjustment	0·19	61	$> 0·05$
Total Social Adjustment	0·19	61	$> 0·05$

Table 3.2. Relations between Reading Age and the other potentially predictive variables and relations between Reading Age and post-school adjustment.

The mean reading age on Schonell's Graded Word Reading Test achieved at the time of school leaving by the sixty-two boys whom Matthew (1964) studied was 9·3. Their range was from 5·8 to 15 years. In a study by Morán (1960) three hundred E.S.N. pupils with a mean chronological age of 15 years 2 months had a mean reading age of 8 years 3 months on the Vernon Warden Group Reading Test A. Morán compared this with their school assessments in which Schonell's or Burt's test had been used and in which their mean reading age was 7 years 9 months. Robertson (1958), the majority of whose subjects had been tested on Schonell's Graded Word Reading Test, reported that at the time of leaving school, thirteen had reading ages between 11 and 14, seventeen had reading ages between 9 and 11, twenty-seven had reading ages between 7 and 9 and fourteen had reading ages below 7 years.

As in the present study, no significant relationship was found between reading age and employment success in the study by Robertson. However, Collins and Speake (1959), who replicated Robertson's study, did find a significant relationship between these two variables, which they attributed to a fairly close correlation between intelligence and reading age. As the author has indicated in Chapter 1, however, she does not regard the criteria of employment success or the method of analysis adopted in these two studies as satisfactory. Matthew found no significant relationship between scholastic attainments and employment success but in his study, reading, arithmetic and spelling were combined in a single measure of scholastic attainment. In contrast to

the results of the present study, Jackson (1967) did find a significant relationship between reading (as measured on Vernon's Graded Word Reading Test) and self-support and employment adjustment,

c. Arithmetic

It was expected that there would be a wide range of arithmetic attainment among the subjects, that some would scarcely be able to add two digits while others could perform calculations not generally taught to pupils below secondary school age. It was therefore necessary to choose a test which would cover a wide range. The author chose the Staffordshire (Revised Southend) Arithmetic Test, partly because she had found that the first item, in which the subjects simply write down a list of numbers at the tester's dictation, was useful in lessening tension, establishing rapport and giving confidence to the most backward subjects. In the conversion table for the Staffordshire Arithmetic Test the raw scores are converted into arithmetic ages expressed in years and months. For the purposes of computing, the author expressed the months as decimal parts of a year and that is how they are reported here.

The expectation of a wide range of scores was confirmed, in fact exceeded. The scores on the test taken at 16 years ranged from 1 (Arithmetic Age 5·83) to 48 (Arithmetic Age 15 years).

The mean Arithmetic Age of the 66 subjects who were tested at a mean age of 16 years was 8·35 SD 1·67.

The mean Arithmetic Age of the 37 pupils who first took the test at a mean age of 15·02 years was then 8·29 SD 1·36. The mean Arithmetic Age of these pupils a year later was 8·70 SD 1·80. The one year test-retest correlation was 0·92.

The mean Arithmetic Age at 16 years of all 40 pupils to whom the author had previously given the test was 8·54, while the mean of the non-pretested group was 8·06. The difference was not found to be significant, $F_{1,64} = 1·29$ $p > 0·25$. (As in the case of reading, even had a significant difference been found, it could not have been attributed automatically to practice effects, since the pretested group had shown a higher attainment than the non-pretested group on first taking the test, even though they were a year younger.)

The mean Arithmetic Age of the 36 girls who took the test at a mean age of 16 years was 8·02, the mean Arithmetic Age of the 30 boys was 8·75. The difference was not significant, $F_{1,64} = 3·21$; $p > 0·05$. This was in contrast to the findings of Morán (1960). Among the three hundred E.S.N. pupils with a mean age of 15 years 2 months whom he tested on Burt's General Arithmetic Oral Test VIII, he found a mean arithmetic age of 8 years 5 months for boys and a mean arithmetic age of 6 years 7 months for girls. However, in Morán's study, the mean I.Q. of the boys was 5·6 points higher than that of the girls. Also, in the test he used, a large proportion of the items involved money transactions and in the present study the boys scored significantly higher on the scale concerned with the handling of money in the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation (although this did not involve solving any arithmetical problems).

In the present study a significant difference was found among the means of the six schools, on the Arithmetic

test, $F_{5,60} = 4{\cdot}71$; $p < 0{\cdot}01$.

Table 3.3 shows the relations between the subjects' arithmetic attainment and their scores on the other tests taken in the few weeks before they left school. It also shows the relations between their Arithmetic Ages on leaving school and their post-school adjustment. There was a positive relationship significant at the 1% level between Arithmetic Age and all aspects of post-school adjustment except the scale of social adjustment called Household Responsibilities. (The scale of Household Responsibilities was a peculiar scale, discussed in Chapter 4Biii, on which the non-employed subjects tended to do relatively well.) The p values for the correlations with the adjustment variables reported in Table 3.3 were confirmed when Kendall's tau was used.

	r	n	p
I.Q.	0·32	66	$<0·01$
Reading	0·33	66	$<0·01$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·45	66	$<0·01$
Vocabulary	0·19	66	$>0·05$
Manchester Scales	0·64	65	$<0·01$
Social Knowledge	0·57	66	$<0·01$
Teacher's Combined Ratings	0·36	56	$<0·01$
Additional Disability	-0·22	66	$>0·05$
Family Size	0·35	65	$<0·01$
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	0·03	65	$>0·05$
Weeks Worked in two years	0·40	64	$<0·01$
Overall Employment Adjustment	0·38	60	$<0·01$
Overall Social Adjustment	0·38	61	$<0·01$
Total Social Adjustment	0·46	61	$<0·01$

Table 3.3. Relations between Arithmetic Age and other potentially predictive variables and relations between Arithmetic Age and post-school adjustment.

d. The Progressive Matrices

The subjects were tested on Raven's Coloured Progressive Matrices, Sets A, Ab and B. In the small number of cases in which, had the testing been done for clinical purposes, it might have been appropriate to take the subjects on to the Standard Scale, Sets C, D and E, this was not done in the present research. As the last few problems in Set B are of the same order of difficulty as those of Set C, to have taken the few highest scorers on to the standard scale might have inflated their scores in a way that would have distorted the comparisons among the subjects of the study generally (or if one then omitted their scores on Set Ab, as one normally would in making an assessment on the basis of the standard scale, it would obviously have been impossible to include their results in a comparison of raw scores). For the purposes of the research it was therefore decided to use only Sets A, Ab and B. These sets are in fact published in coloured form in a separate book for use as a separate test if required.

The mean score on the Coloured Progressive Matrices of the 66 pupils who took the test at a mean age of 16 years was 22·55 SD 4·79.

The mean score of the 37 pupils who first took the test at a mean age of 15·02 years was then 22·97 SD 5·13. The mean score of these 37 pupils a year later was 23·38 SD 4·58. The one year test-retest correlation was 0·80.

The mean Progressive Matrices score at 16 years of all the 40 pupils to whom the author had previously given the test was 23·20, while the mean score of the 26 non-pretested pupils was 21·54. The difference was not significant, $F_{1,64} = 1{\cdot}89$; $p > 0{\cdot}10$.

No significant difference was found among the means of the pupils from the six different schools.

The mean score of the 36 girls who took the test at a mean age of 16 years was 21·11. The mean score of the 30 boys was 24·27. The difference was found to be significant. $F_{1,64} = 7{\cdot}71$; $p < 0{\cdot}01$. In Morán's study too there was a significant difference between the scores of boys and girls on the Progressive Matrices. Although, as has already been pointed out, the boys in his study had a higher I.Q. than did the girls, the difference in their mental ages as assessed on the Terman Merrill test was ten months, whereas the difference in their mental ages as assessed on the Progressive Matrices was one year, three months.

Table 3.4 shows the relationships found in the present study between score on the Coloured Progressive Matrices and scores on the other tests taken a few weeks before leaving school. As Table 3.4 also shows, there was a small but significant correlation between score on the Coloured Progressive Matrices and post-school adjustment.

	r	n	p
I.Q.	0·29	66	< 0.05
Reading	0·10	66	> 0.05
Arithmetic	0·45	66	< 0.01
Vocabulary	0·40	66	< 0.01
Manchester Scales	0·51	65	< 0.01
Social Knowledge	0·52	66	< 0.01
Teacher's Combined Ratings	0·39	56	< 0.01
Additional Disability	-0·05	66	> 0.05
Family Size	0·07	65	> 0.05
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	0·00	65	> 0.05
Weeks worked in two years	0·28	64	< 0.05
Overall Employment Adjustment	0·38	60	< 0.01
Overall Social Adjustment	0·38	61	< 0.01
Total Social Adjustment	0·35	61	< 0.01

Table 3.4. Relations between scores on the Coloured Progressive Matrices and a) the other potentially predictive variables and b) post-school adjustment.

e. Vocabulary

The subjects were given the first forty words of the Mill Hill Vocabulary Scale used as an Oral Definitions test (Set 1 of the Crichton Vocabulary Scale).

The mean Vocabulary score of the 66 pupils who took the test at a mean age of 16 years was 19·53 SD 5·97.

The mean Vocabulary score of the 37 pupils who first took the test at a mean age of 15·02 years was at that time 17·41 SD 4·70. The mean score of these 37 pupils a year later was 19·19 SD 4·94. The one-year test-retest correlation was 0·88.

The mean Vocabulary score at 16 years of all 40 pupils to whom the author had previously given the test was 18·95, while the mean score of the 26 non-pretested pupils was 20·42. The difference was not significant, $F_{1,64} = 0{\cdot}94$; $p > 0{\cdot}25$.

No significant difference was found among the mean Vocabulary scores of the pupils from the six different schools.

The mean Vocabulary score of the 36 girls who were tested at 16 years was 19·11. The mean score of the 30 boys was 20·03. The difference was not significant. $F_{1,64} = 0{\cdot}38$; $p > 0{\cdot}50$.

The relations between Vocabulary and scores on the other tests taken by the subjects shortly before leaving school are shown in Table 3.5. As one might have expected, Vocabulary had a higher correlation with measured intelligence than did the score on any of the other tests. Also noteworthy

	r	n	p
I.Q.	0·63	66	$< 0·01$
Reading	0·24	66	$> 0·05$
Arithmetic	0·19	66	$> 0·05$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·40	66	$< 0·01$
Manchester Scales	0·52	65	$< 0·01$
Social Knowledge	0·74	66	$< 0·01$
Teacher's Combined Ratings	0·30	56	$< 0·05$
Additional Disability	-0·19	66	$> 0·05$
Family Size	-0·12	65	$> 0·05$
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	-0·32	65	$< 0·01$
Weeks worked in two years	0·23	64	$> 0·05$
Overall Employment Adjustment	0·32	60	$< 0·05$
Overall Social Adjustment	0·42	61	$< 0·01$
Total Social Adjustment	0·40	61	$< 0·01$

Table 3.5. Relations between Vocabulary and the other potentially predictive variables and the relations between Vocabulary and post-school adjustment.

is the correlation of 0·74 between Vocabulary and score on the Social Knowledge test. Table 3.5 also shows that there was a significant correlation between Vocabulary and post-school adjustment, the association being stronger with social adjustment than with employment adjustment. The correlation between Vocabulary and actual number of weeks worked was not significant (on a two-tail test).

f. The Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation

The author wished to test the subjects' social adjustment and social competence, since a number of authors had suggested that a mentally handicapped young person's degree of social development when he left school was more strongly associated with his subsequent adjustment to adult life than were his attainments or his I.Q. (Doll, 1953; Stott, 1963). At the time the tests were being chosen, the author heard that Dr. Lunzer of Manchester University's Department of Education had been working to produce a measure of social adaptation based on the Vineland Social Maturity Scale but more suitable for use with British children. She obtained a copy of the scales, then in unpublished form, and noted that in the introduction it was stated,

> Although many studies have shown that the Vineland Scale may be used to discriminate between the subnormal and the normal, and Brennan has shown the same to be true of the present scales, we know of no research conducted with the specific aim of proving the superiority of measures of social competence in making assessments relating to the placement, indications of training, and predictions of future employability of subnormal children.... It remains that the issue is sufficiently crucial to warrant investigation in its own right.

Since the present study offered an opportunity for testing the value of the Scales in this respect and since the Scales appeared to fulfil many of the author's requirements for a test of social adjustment, it was decided to include them in the battery.

This test, which relies to a large extent on the subject's own reports of his activities, is not an easy one

to administer, particularly to mentally subnormal people whose powers of recall and understanding of time and distance are generally poorer than those of normal subjects, nor is it easy to score. Pupils of special schools are usually drawn from a much wider area than pupils of ordinary schools and it is therefore less likely that the tester of mentally handicapped pupils will have that intimate knowledge of the locality of both the school and the home which facilitates the marking of this test. The author had misgivings at times about the validity of the scores on some of the individual questions. Nevertheless, the one-year test-retest correlation of 0·93 n=37, suggests quite a high degree of reliability. Admittedly, the test was given on both occasions by the same tester and there is therefore a possibility that on the second occasion she may have had some recollection of the subject's previous general level of performance. This would have been a general impression only, however. Although the author marked the answers immediately after the first tests were taken, she deliberately refrained from adding up the scores on the various scales until after the retest, so that no figures could come to mind when she was confronted by the subjects on the second occasion. She felt that this precaution was desirable since the test does involve a certain amount of subjective judgement on the part of the tester. (The assessment of post-school social adjustment was carried out by an independent assessor so its relations with the results of this test are not influenced by any one person's bias.)

During the preliminary testing with fifteen young people at a school for mentally handicapped pupils outside the main study area, the author experienced some difficulty in the administration of the series of sub-scales B, C, D and E. While the tests on Sport and Current Affairs had sufficient vaguely familiar content to hold the interest of most of the testees and make them feel that they might be giving an occasional correct response, by the time the tests entitled Aesthetic and Scientific were given, they seemed to be out of their depth and the questions evoked scarcely any response. One could sense that by this stage the testees were becoming increasingly despondent and uninterested and beginning to withdraw from the test situation. The author was anxious to avoid inducing depression and fatigue which might have impaired the subjects' responses on subsequent tests or on the remainder of the Manchester Scales. Therefore, since a separate conversion table and comparative data were provided for each sub-test and since the author was concerned with comparisons within the research group rather than between members of that group and the normal population, she decided to omit sub-tests D and E when using the Manchester Scales in her study. In the revised version of the Scales that was later published the order of the questions in the series B-E was altered slightly and instructions were added to discontinue each test after failure on the first two items or any three consecutive items. It therefore seems unlikely that comparability of the subjects' overall scores with those of the general population were

affected by the omission of sub-tests D and E.

The author encountered a number of minor problems in scoring this test and these are set out in Appendix 11. She communicated these to Professor Lunzer and he replied that he was satisfied that the ways in which they had been dealt with were acceptable and intimated that he would bear in mind the points raised when making any further revision of the manual.

The mean overall score on the Manchester Scales of the 65 pupils who were given the test at a mean age of 16 years was 63.74 SD 13.29. (The score of one subject was excluded from consideration. A severely deaf girl of very low intelligence, she had been refusing to wear her hearing aid which she claimed was broken. On the day of the retest she was in an unco-operative mood towards everyone in the school and it was impossible to tell whether she could not hear some of the questions or simply did not wish to answer them. Owing to her absences from school and her continued refusal to wear the hearing aid, the author was unable to test her on the Manchester Scales again, although she did obtain her scores on other tests which were less dependent on conversation.) The scores of the 65 young people on the sub-tests are shown in Table 3.6.

The mean overall score of the 37 pupils who were first given the test at a mean age of 15.02 years was at that time 61.22 SD 11.41. The mean score of the 37 pupils when retested a year later was 64.54 SD 11.37. The one-year test-retest correlation was 0.93. The test-retest correlations of the sub-tests are shown in Table 3.7.

Scale	Mean	SD
Social Perspective		
General	9·35	2·74
Sport	1·23	0·84
Current Affairs	2·17	1·79
Self Direction		
Socialisation of Play	11·58	2·81
Freedom of Movement	8·58	3·93
Self Help	20·43	2·77
Handling of Money	6·14	2·38
Responsibility in Home	4·29	2·06

Table 3.6. The mean scores on the sub-scales of the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation obtained by 65 subjects who were tested at a mean age of 16 years.

Scale	r_{tt}
Social Perspective	
General	0·80
Sport	0·70
Current Affairs	0·85
Self Direction	
Socialisation of Play	0·62
Freedom of Movement	0·80
Self Help	0·87
Handling of Money	0·78
Responsibility in Home	0·76

Table 3.7. One-year test-retest correlations on the sub-scales of the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation. N = 37.

The mean score at 16 years of all 40 pupils to whom the author had previously given the test was 63·95, while the mean of the non-pretested group was 63·42. The difference was not significant, $F_{1,63} = 0{\cdot}02$; $p > 0{\cdot}50$.

No significant difference was found among the pupils from the six different schools.

The mean score of the 35 girls who took the test at a mean age of 16 years was 60·49. The mean score of the 30 boys was 67·53. The difference was found to be significant at the 5% level, $F_{1,63} = 4{\cdot}73$; $p < 0{\cdot}05$. The girls did significantly better than the boys on the scale of Responsibility in the Home, $F_{1,63} = 8{\cdot}31$; $p < 0{\cdot}01$. The boys did significantly better on the Sport scale but this was not a meaningful scale because there were so few responses from either sex and the results depended mainly on the subject's choice, often by luck rather than knowledge, between Rangers and Celtic as Cup Final winners. More important was the boys' superiority on the Handling of Money Scale, $F_{1,63} = 7{\cdot}98$; $p < 0.01$. The most dramatic difference, however, was on the Freedom of Movement scale where the boys had a mean score of 11·00, as compared with a mean score of 6·51 by the girls, $F_{1,63} = 30{\cdot}26$; $p < 0{\cdot}001$.

The relations between the Manchester Scales and the other predictive data are shown in Table 3.8. The relations between the Manchester Scales and post-school adjustment are shown in Table 3.9. There was a highly significant association between overall score on the Manchester Scales and post-school adjustment. The association with social adjustment was

	r	n	p
I.Q.	0·38	65	$<0·01$
Reading	0·32	65	$<0·01$
Arithmetic	0·64	65	$<0·01$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·51	65	$<0·01$
Vocabulary	0·52	65	$<0·01$
Social Knowledge	0·75	65	$<0·01$
Teacher's Combined Ratings	0·42	55	$<0·01$
Additional Disability	-0·37	65	$<0·01$
Family Size	0·12	64	$>0·05$
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	-0·13	64	$>0·05$

Table 3.8. Relations between overall scores on the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation and other potentially predictive variables.

	Weeks worked in two years	Overall employment adjustment	Overall social adjustment	Total social adjustment
Overall Score	0·46	0·51	0·67	0·68
Social Perspective				
General	0·28	0·36	0·55	0·55
Sport	0·07	0·00	0·13	0·14
Current Affairs	0·26	0·31	0·37	0·32
Self Direction				
Socialisation of Play	0·30	0·34	0·53	0·49
Self Help	0·46	0·48	0·52	0·54
Responsibility in Home	0·44	0·54	0·53	0·56
Freedom of Movement	0·28	0·28	0·45	0·52
Handling of Money	0·34	0·36	0·43	0·44

Table 3.9. Relations between the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation and post-school adjustment.

Note: Where $r > 0.250$ $p < 0.05$, where $r > 0.325$ $p < 0.01$.

stronger than that with employment adjustment. The results of the test of significance reported in Table 3.9 were confirmed by the use of a distribution-free test (Kendall's tau).

It is interesting to note that on the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation, on the Coloured Progressive Matrices and on Vocabulary, the mean score of the subjects of this study was at the fiftieth percentile for children aged about nine and a half or nine years. Thus on these tests the subjects' mean scores were closer to their approximate mean mental age than were their mean scores on Reading (8.09) or Arithmetic (8.35).

g. A test of Social Knowledge

As the Manchester Scales had not been widely used at the time this study was initiated, as they relied to a considerable extent on the subject's own reports and as many of the cultural items appeared to be beyond the scope of mentally handicapped pupils, the author decided to include another measure which would test a somewhat different aspect of social development. This measure would be more objective, in the sense that the score would depend upon correct answers to the questions, and would contain more items of general information of a level appropriate to mentally handicapped young people, but, unlike the Manchester Scales, it would not provide an assessment of the subject's functioning in social situations. It was felt that the results would help to confirm or challenge the results of the Manchester Scales, which involved more subjective judgement on the part of the tester, and that comparisons between the results of the two tests and their associations with post-school adjustment might be enlightening. Accordingly, on the basis of her teaching experience, the author drafted a test containing questions on topics of a social and cultural nature about which fifteen to sixteen-year old mentally handicapped pupils might have a reasonable chance of knowing and about which it might be socially useful for them to know.

Shortly after drafting this test, the author read a thesis by Mr. G.C. Matthew, the Headmaster of an E.S.N. school, in which he reported on his follow-up study of sixty-two former pupils of his school whose progress he compared with

that of a group of former secondary modern school pupils. As part of his assessment of post-school adjustment, Matthew used a questionnaire which he described as a test of social competence. The author was impressed by the likeness of many of the questions to those in her own draft. She gave serious consideration to the possibility of abandoning her own test and using Matthew's, since it seemed desirable to replicate work in this field whenever possible. However, this was not feasible. Matthew's test contained a number of local items which were not appropriate for subjects in other areas. Similar items of comparable difficulty could not be substituted since the subjects of the present study were drawn from six different schools and from homes scattered throughout a large county. Even had it been feasible to use Matthew's test unchanged, the results would not have been strictly comparable since he had tested boys only, the mean I.Q. of his subjects was 70·4 and his subjects had left school some years before taking the test. He had, however, carried out an item analysis and therefore, where items in the author's draft were very similar to those in his test, it seemed that general comparisons between the replies of the two groups might be of interest. Therefore, where such similarity existed, the author altered her questions to correspond exactly, or as closely as possible, to Matthew's. Matthew himself had drawn upon the work of Gunzburg (1960) whose Progress Assessment Charts attempt to measure the social functioning of mentally subnormal young people. The author did not attempt to present her results in chart form, however,

but scored it as a straightforward test.

The mean score on the Social Knowledge test of the 66 pupils who took it at the mean age of 16 years was 23·78 SD 7·32.

The mean score of the 37 pupils who first took the test at a mean age of 15·02 years was at that time 20·48 SD 5·80. The mean score of these 37 pupils a year later was 24·53 SD 6·05. The one-year test-retest correlation was 0·92.

The mean score on the Social Knowledge test of all 40 pupils to whom the author had previously given the test was 23·81, while the mean score of the non-pretested group was 23·75. The difference was not significant, $F_{1,64} = 0{\cdot}00$; $p > 0{\cdot}50$.

The mean score of the 36 girls who took the test at a mean age of 16 years was 22·43. The mean score of the 30 boys was 25·41. The difference was not significant, $F_{1,64} = 2{\cdot}74$; $p > 0{\cdot}10$.

The relations between score on the Social Knowledge test and the other potentially predictive variables and the relations between score on the Social Knowledge test and post-school adjustment are shown in Table 3.10. In Tables 3.11a and b are shown in greater detail the relations between scores on the Social Knowledge test and scores on the Manchester Scales. The overall correlation between the two tests was 0·75.

	r	n	p
I.Q.	0·57	66	$<0·01$
Reading	0·33	66	$<0·01$
Arithmetic	0·57	66	$<0·01$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·52	66	$<0·01$
Vocabulary	0·74	66	$<0·01$
Manchester Scales	0·75	65	$<0·01$
Teacher's Combined Ratings	0·52	56	$<0·01$
Additional Disability	-0·21	66	$>0·05$
Family Size	0·03	65	$>0·05$
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	-0·29	65	$<0·05$
Weeks Worked in two years	0·46	64	$<0·01$
Overall Employment Adjustment	0·53	60	$<0·01$
Overall Social Adjustment	0·58	61	$<0·01$
Total Social Adjustment	0·57	61	$<0·01$

Table 3.10. Relations between scores on the Social Knowledge test and a) the other potentially predictive variables and b) post-school adjustment.

Manchester Scales	r
Overall Score	0·75
Social Perspective	
General	0·76
Sport	0·28
Current Affairs	0·56
Self Direction	
Socialisation of Play	0·54
Self Help	0·42
Responsibility in Home	0·41
Freedom of Movement	0·48
Handling of Money	0·51

Table 3.11a. Relations between scores on the sub-scales of the Manchester Scales taken at 16 years and score on the Social Knowledge test taken at 16 years. N = 65.

	Social Knowledge test taken at 15 years	Social Knowledge test taken at 16 years
Manchester Scales taken at 15 years	0·77	0·73
Manchester Scales taken at 16 years	0·78	0·75

Table 3.11b. Correlations among tests of social adaptation and social knowledge.

iii) Teachers' Ratings

In a number of studies a significant relationship has been found between ratings made by teachers, or by others in close working contact with the subjects, and the subjects' later adjustment. These ratings have sometimes been confined to the concept of stability, sometimes ratings of various traits have been combined to form a measure of stability, sometimes certain attributes or traits have been rated separately and variously described as aspects of personality or character.

In the two investigations which they report in The Social Problem of Mental Deficiency, O'Connor and Tizard (1956) applied an extensive battery of tests to the group of mentally subnormal young men whom they were studying. In both investigations they concluded that the best independent predictor of employment success was a Measure of Instability. In the first study this measure was a rating made by the two investigators and the Physician Superintendent of the mental subnormality hospital. In the second study they attempted to obtain a more objective measure of instability by analysing the hospital records for events believed to warrant disciplinary procedure and quantifying their findings. Although they regarded the second measure as more objective and valid than the clinical rating of instability, they state that, "What has been least successful in these studies has been the search for a clearly defined objective measure of neurotic tendency in the feeble-minded. So far ratings have been more successful predictors than more objective tests,

although their reliability has been lower."

In his follow-up of 62 former E.S.N. pupils whose progress was compared with that of a group of former secondary modern school pupils, Matthew (1964) found no significant relationship between measured intelligence or school attainments and success or failure in employment but he did find such a relationship between employment success and teachers' ratings of stability of character.

Jackson (1967) asked his subjects' former teachers to rate them on a number of "personality characteristics" and found that, while several were significantly related to one or two aspects of adjustment, three, described as Initiative, Persistence and Leadership, emerged as being of particular importance in all his four areas of adjustment.

Since ratings of this type had shown their usefulness as predictors in some previous studies, the author wished to see whether their predictive value would be confirmed if a similar rating procedure were carried out in the present study. She realised that she would not be able to calculate the reliability of the raters, since the pupils came from six different schools and none was likely to be well known to teachers in any of the participating schools other than his own school. Even within each school there was unlikely to be more than one, at most two, members of staff in a position to rate all the subjects attending that school, as the special class units were small and had had many staff changes. It was therefore desirable to use a measure which had already proved its usefulness in circumstances in which the reliability

of the raters could be calculated. Matthew had piloted his "Index of Stability of Character" and used it in a study of E.S.N. school leavers. The author considered it would be interesting to see whether the predictive value of his scales would be confirmed even in circumstances where no allowance could be made for the bias of individual raters and she therefore decided to adopt his measure for use in the present study. Adaptations might have been made to render the scales more appropriate for use in the schools involved in this study or for use in a study which included girls among its subjects, but in order not to invalidate any comparison of results, the scales were used unaltered.

In evolving his rating scales, Matthew first asked a panel of Personnel Officers, Youth Employment Officers, employers and teachers to choose from a list of attributes the five which they considered most important for successful adjustment in employment. Those selected were Reliability, Emotional Maturity, Perseverance, Industry and Honesty. Matthew then devised a scale for each of these attributes and piloted the scales on two hundred and thirty six boys in two special and one secondary modern school. Later he chose four teachers as potential raters of the subjects of his follow-up study with whom they had had long acquaintance. He asked these teachers to rate twenty boys on a separate scale for Sociability and chose the three raters with the highest degree of agreement to re-rate them a month later. (Although Matthew says the results showed a high level of consistency, the author considers that the test-retest

correlations of two of the raters were not particularly high when one considers that there were only twenty subjects and the interval was only one month.) He then used these three raters as a team to rate the subjects of his follow-up study on the five selected attributes. The ratings were converted to standard scores. The fifteen ratings for each individual were summed and averaged and the final score converted to a category on a five point scale.

In the study by Matthew and that by Jackson, teachers were asked to rate character/personality attributes a considerable time, in some cases years, after some of the subjects had left school. The author wished to avoid such a lapse of time in the present study because it carries with it the possibility that a rater's memory may no longer be clear or his judgement may have been contaminated by knowledge of a subject's post-school progress. On the other hand, if a teacher is asked to complete the ratings while the subject is still at school, some recent incident may exert a disproportionate influence on the teacher's judgement. The author therefore asked the Headmaster of the special school and the Head of each of the five special class departments to rate the subjects from that school a few weeks after their leaving dates.

One teacher was unwilling to co-operate and, although she reluctantly did so for the first four subjects from her school, she declined to do so for the seven who left at later dates. One boy was not rated because the author was not informed until a couple of months after his leaving date that

he had been upgraded and left a year earlier than expected. One girl was not rated because of the illness and prolonged absence of her former teacher.

Because each rated subject had only one rating on each scale, it was not necessary to give weightings as Matthew had done. The distance of the rater's mark from the end of the line was recorded as the subject's score on the scale. Each subject's scores were added to give his total score on the teacher's combined ratings and the relationship of these combined scores with subsequent adjustment and with the other potentially predictive variables was examined. However, the author also analysed the relationships of the scores on each separate scale with the other variables. This detailed analysis of individual scales proved enlightening, as it showed that the ratings of three attributes, Perseverance, Industry and Reliability were much more closely related to subsequent adjustment than those of the other two, Honesty and Emotional Maturity.

The inter-relations of the scales are shown in Table 3.12. In Table 3.13, are shown the relations between the scores on these rating scales and the scores on the other variables.

The scale which correlated most highly with the combined scale ($r = 0{\cdot}89$) was Perseverance, and this was also the scale with the closest relationship ($r = 0{\cdot}66$) with subsequent overall employment adjustment, although it was rather less closely related to social adjustment than were two other scales. These two other scales, Industry and Reliability,

	Combined	Emotional Maturity	Reliability	Honesty	Industry	Perseverance	Overall Employment Adjustment	Total Social Adjustment
Combined	1							
Emotional Maturity	0·70	1						
Reliability	0·85	0·42	1					
Honesty	0·78	0·53	0·47	1				
Industry	0·82	0·40	0·81	0·40	1			
Perseverance	0·89	0·50	0·76	0·58	0·71	1		
Overall Employment Adjustment	0·56	0·06	0·60	0·30	0·64	0·66	1	
Total Social Adjustment	0·52	0·03	0·63	0·27	0·64	0·56	0·77	1

Table 3.12. Correlations among teachers' rating scales and relations between these ratings and post-school adjustment.

	r	n	p
I.Q.	0·16	62	$> 0·05$
Reading	0·25	56	$> 0·05$
Arithmetic	0·36	56	$< 0·01$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·39	56	$< 0·01$
Vocabulary	0·30	56	$< 0·05$
Manchester Scales	0·42	55	$< 0·01$
Social Knowledge	0·52	56	$< 0·01$
Additional Disability	-0·20	62	$> 0·05$
Family Size	-0·04	61	$> 0·05$
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	0·02	61	$> 0·05$
Weeks Worked in two years	0·46	61	$< 0·01$
Overall Employment Adjustment	0·56	57	$< 0·01$
Overall Social Adjustment	0·50	56	$< 0·01$
Total Social Adjustment	0·52	56	$< 0·01$

Table 3.13. Relations between Combined Teachers' Ratings and a) the other potentially predictive variables and b) post-school adjustment.

were also closely related to the combined scale and to each other, and they also had a relatively strong relationship with overall employment adjustment (r = 0·64 and 0·60 respectively) and with total social adjustment (r = 0·64 and 0·63 respectively). The relationship between the score on Honesty and that on the combined scale was still fairly close (r = 0·78) but the relationship between Honesty and adjustment was much smaller (r = 0·30 with overall employment adjustment and 0·27 with total social adjustment). The scale which had the least association with the combined scale (r = 0·70) was Emotional Maturity and hardly any relationship existed between this scale and adjustment (r = 0·06 with employment adjustment and 0·03 with social adjustment).

It should not be automatically assumed from these findings that real Emotional Maturity is of no importance in relation to adjustment. It may be that teachers found this attribute a particularly difficult one to rate and that their ratings of it were less valid than their ratings of other attributes. It may be that the scale, with the rubrics Matthew chose for it, is a less effective instrument for measuring the concept it is supposed to measure than are the other scales.

The differences in predictive value among ratings of different attributes may partially explain why Maxwell (1969) was led to conclude that in the Scottish Mental Survey "Generally, the teachers who rated favourably or not favourably appear to have some justification for their assessments at the

time. But it does appear that such ratings made at the age of fourteen are not too reliable as predictors of later developments." In the course of the 1947 Scottish Survey, teachers were asked to rate their fourteen-year-old pupils on six personal characteristics. The scores on these six ratings were added to give a total score for each pupil and the results dichotomised into favourable and unfavourable ratings. The results of the present study suggest either that possession of certain attributes that are generally regarded as desirable is considerably more important to later adjustment than possession of other attributes also held to be desirable, or that teachers are considerably more effective in rating some attributes than in rating others. It is possible therefore that by combining the ratings on the various attributes, Maxwell has obscured the predictive value of some of them. (In fairness it must be said that Maxwell does not claim to have carried out any detailed analyses of this material as yet. His observations are based only on examination of the records of the twenty-two most favourably and the thirty least favourably rated subjects.)

Maxwell found among teachers' ratings a bias in favour of pupils with higher intelligence, in favour of pupils taking the longer secondary course and in favour of pupils whose fathers belonged to the higher occupational classes. He states, "the selection by personal qualities clearly involves indirect selection by I.Q., school course and occupational class." Such bias is unlikely to have existed in the present study. All the pupils were taking the same type of school

course and the group was much more homogeneous in intelligence and in the occupational level of fathers. There was a positive relationship between I.Q. and the combined ratings but it was too small to be significant, $r = 0{\cdot}16$, $n = 62$.

There was no significant difference between the mean score of the boys and the mean score of the girls in the present follow-up study on the combined teacher's ratings. $F_{1,60} = 0{\cdot}28$; $p > 0{\cdot}50$. There were no significant differences between the mean scores of the sexes on any of the individual attributes.

As Tables 3.12 and 3.13 show, the relation between teacher's ratings and post-school adjustment was highly significant. The rating of Perseverance had a higher correlation with employment adjustment than did any other potentially predictive variable.

iv) Additional Disabilities

Each subject was allotted to one of the following categories: those having a severe additional disability, those having a slight additional disability, those for whom no disability additional to that of mental handicap was recorded.

Table 3.14 shows the number of subjects who suffered from disabilities additional to that of mental handicap. The term disability is a somewhat ambiguous one (cf. Central Youth Employment Executive memorandum 18. Para. 4 (1)) since, of two people, each with an equally severe defect, one may

Severe		Slight	
Disability	No. of Subjects	Disability	No. of Subjects
Epilepsy	3	Motor	2
Motor	3	Hearing	3
Sight	3	Sight & Hearing	1
Hearing	1	Sight, Hearing, Speech & Physique	1
Sight & Hearing	1	Kidney	1
Sight & Motor	1	Skin	1
Heart & Lung	1	Speech & Stigmata	1
Heart, Kidney, Speech and Undersized	1	Speech	8
Brain tumour	1	Deformity & Hearing	1
Cretinism	1		
Dwarfism	1		
Undersized & Motor	1		
Total	18		19
% of subjects	24		26
Sex distribution	8 Girls 10 Boys		10 Girls 9 Boys

Table 3.14. Number of subjects of the follow-up study suffering from disabilities additional to that of mental handicap, and the nature of their disabilities.

overcome it to the extent that it places little restriction on his way of life, while the other may be substantially crippled by it. It is not possible to distinguish completely between the severity of the defect and the extent to which the person copes with it but in Table 3.14 the classification is based as far as possible on the degree of defect. Where a person suffered from more than one additional disability, these may not have been of equal severity but the subject has been classified according to the degree of disability resulting from the combined defects. Young people whose defects were fully corrected by the use of mechanical aids, e.g. those whose defective sight was corrected by the use of spectacles, were not included in the list of those with additional disabilities.

The finding that 50% of the subjects suffered from disabilities additional to that of mental handicap is at variance with the results of the general survey (cf. discussion of this point in Chapter 5) in which only 25% of mentally handicapped school leavers were reported by Youth Employment Officers as having additional disabilities. In this follow-up study, however, a good deal of information about individual cases was available from medical records and one would therefore expect the findings of the follow-up study to be more accurate than those of the general survey. The findings of the follow-up study confirm those of Jackson in his study of 232 former mentally handicapped pupils in Edinburgh. He reported that 54.1% of male subjects and 52.5% of female subjects suffered from multiple defect, i.e. possessed a

disability additional to that of mental handicap.

In the present study a correlation of -0·50 was found between the degree of additional disability and the number of weeks worked in two years after school leaving. (This relationship existed despite the fact that, of the four boys who obtained an overall employment adjustment rating of 1, the highest rating, one was classified as having a severe additional disability and two were classified as having slight additional disabilities.) Table 3.15 shows the relationships between the possession of additional disabilities and the other potentially predictive variables. Table 3.16 shows the relationship between the possession of additional disabilities and various aspects of post-school adjustment. Social adjustment, particularly the satisfactory pursuit of leisure interests, was less adversely affected by additional disability than was employment adjustment. One might have expected the participation in community activities to be more severely affected than it appears to have been because of the restrictions on freedom of movement caused by certain types of additional handicap. However it must be remembered that the social adjustment ratings were based on comparisons within the research group, many of whom did not enjoy the full freedom of movement normal to their peers in the general population. Jackson also found that multiple defect had a more important adverse effect upon employment adjustment and self-support than it did on personal-social relationships or cultural conformity.

	r	n	p
I.Q.	-0·24	74	$< 0·05$
Reading	-0·24	66	$> 0·05$
Arithmetic	-0·22	66	$> 0·05$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	-0·05	66	$> 0·05$
Vocabulary	-0·19	66	$> 0·05$
Manchester Scales	-0·37	65	$< 0·01$
Social Knowledge	-0·21	66	$> 0·05$
Teacher's Combined Ratings	-0·20	62	$> 0·05$
Family Size	-0·02	73	$> 0·05$
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	0·26	72	$< 0·05$

Table 3.15. Relations between severity of additional disability and the other potentially predictive variables.

	r	n	p
Weeks worked in two years	-0·50	70	< 0·01
Overall Employment Adjustment	-0·42	66	< 0·01
Financial Independence	-0·41	66	< 0·01
Executive Independence	-0·34	66	< 0·01
Social Relations	-0·23	66	> 0·05
Participation in Community Activities	-0·16	66	> 0·05
Satisfaction derived from Leisure Pursuits	-0·13	66	> 0·05
Household Responsibilities	-0·17	66	> 0·05
Overall Social Adjustment	-0·28	66	< 0·05
Total Social Adjustment	-0·32	66	< 0·01

Table 3.16. Relations between severity of additional disability and post-school adjustment.

The author found a negative correlation, significant at the 5% level, between I.Q. and severity of additional disability. This supports Jackson's finding that "subjects with additional disabilities tend to have lower measured intelligence." On the other hand, the author found a positive correlation, also significant at the 5% level, between degree of additional disability and a subject's having both natural parents alive and resident at home when he left school. This is also in agreement with Jackson's findings, particularly in relation to motor disability and convulsive disorder.

Teachers had not always been fully informed about the nature of their pupils' physical handicaps. In one school the author noticed while testing that one subject occasionally paused with an upward turn of the eyes and stopped responding for a moment. Without mentioning her suspicion of epilepsy, the author made a general enquiry in the staff room about the subject's health. She was told by the teacher that she had heard that the subject had suffered from epilepsy but that she had seen no real evidence of it. The impression the teacher gave was that she thought the subject quite capable of feigning fits and that she regarded reports of the subject's possible epilepsy as exaggerated. Later examination of the medical records in this case, however, revealed to the author a history of serious and frequent epileptic fits in childhood and the fact that the subject had been under medication to control this for years. There were other cases in which teachers spoke doubtfully, even perhaps disparagingly, of

references made to them by parents about the medical conditions of certain pupils, when in fact the medical files contained reports from hospital consultants that fully confirmed what the parents had said. In one school a teacher expressed concern to the author because a visiting instructor used corporal punishment on one of her class pupils. The boy was very undersized, extremely immature and obviously not fit. The teachers asked the author if she, as a stranger, had noticed the boy's dragging walk. They told her that the school dentist, after carrying out a routine inspection at the school, had commented on the foulness of his mouth. They felt sure that there was something seriously wrong and were anxious that something should be done to help the boy but it seemed to them that there was no effective means of communication between themselves and those in authority. Examination of the official files showed that the boy's condition had in fact been known to the local education authority for years. He was suffering from chronic renal failure and heart disease, and he died before the study was completed.

v) Family Background

a. Number of Siblings

The mean number of siblings of the subjects of the follow-up study was 3·73. This was the number of siblings at the time the subjects left school. The number includes full siblings and half sublings. (Half siblings could not always be distinguished from full siblings because in some cases

the identity of the putative father of a subject or a sibling was not known.) The number does not include step siblings.

Table 3.17 shows the distribution of the siblings of the subjects of the follow-up study.

Family Size

Number of Sibs	Number of Subjects
0	3
1	10
2	19
3	10
4	10
5	5
6	4
7	3
8	3
9	3
10	0
11	3
not known	1
Total	74

Table 3.17. The number of siblings of the subjects of the follow-up study at the time the subjects left school.

The mean family size, 4·73, of the subjects of this study may be compared with a mean family size of 3·8 of all the sample members in the 1947 Scottish Mental Survey (Maxwell, 1969), but it must be remembered that there is a difference of fourteen or fifteen years between the birth dates of the

subjects of the present study and those of the subjects of the Scottish Mental Survey, who were eleven years old in 1947. In his follow-up study in England, Matthew (1964) reported a mean family size of 3·9 for his E.S.N. sample and 3·2 for his Secondary Modern sample.

The relationships between number of siblings and post-school adjustment are shown in Table 3.18. Contrary to what one might expect, the relations between family size and the adjustment variables are all positive, with the exception of that between family size and Household Responsibilities, which is a peculiar scale discussed in further detail in Chapter 4Biii. Although the correlation of 0·13 with overall employment adjustment is not in itself large enough to be significant, and neither is the correlation of 0·15 with overall social adjustment, the fact that all the correlations (with one explicable exception) are positive means that there is less likelihood of this being a chance effect.

However, examination of the relationships between family size and the other potentially predictive variables, shown in Table 3.19, reveals a relationship more unexpected than that between family size and adjustment. The correlation between family size and measured intelligence is also positive, $r = 0{\cdot}15$ $n = 73$. Studies of the relations between family size and intelligence, many of which are reviewed by Anastasi (1956), suggest a negative correlation between the two variables in the general population. In the 1947 Scottish

	r	n	p
Weeks Worked in two years	0·17	69	>0·05
Overall Employment Adjustment	0·13	65	>0·05
Financial Independence	0·13	66	>0·05
Executive Independence	0·23	66	>0·05
Social Relations	0·12	66	>0·05
Participation in Community Activities	0·00	66	>0·05
Satisfaction from Leisure Pursuits	0·18	66	>0·05
Household Responsibilities	-0·15	66	>0·05
Overall Social Adjustment	0·15	66	>0·05
Total Social Adjustment	0·12	66	>0·05

Table 3.18. Relations between Family Size (number of siblings) and post-school adjustment.

	r	n	p
I.Q.	0·15	73	$>0·05$
Reading	0·02	65	$>0·05$
Arithmetic	0·35	65	$<0·01$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·07	65	$>0·05$
Vocabulary	-0·12	65	$>0·05$
Manchester Scales	0·12	64	$>0·05$
Social Knowledge	0·03	65	$>0·05$
Teacher's Combined Ratings	-0·04	61	$>0·05$
Additional Disability	0·02	72	$>0·05$
Both Natural Parents at home at school leaving date	-0·01	71	$>0·05$

Table 3.19. Relations between Family Size (number of siblings) and the other potentially predictive variables.

Mental Survey (Thomson, 1949) a correlation of -0·28 was found between the number of siblings and the scores on a group test of intelligence of 70,805 eleven-year-old children and a correlation of -0·32 between the number of siblings and the scores on the 1937 Stanford Binet of a group of 1,215 individually tested eleven-year-olds (the six-day sample).

The finding of a slight positive correlation between intelligence and family size among the subjects of the present follow-up study suggests that, in the area studied, children were likely to be ascertained at a slightly higher mean level of intelligence if they came from large families than if they came from small ones. While, within this group, a large number of siblings does not appear necessarily to have an adverse effect upon a subject's adjustment to adult life, it may have been a handicap at an earlier stage, particularly in relation to a subject's educational progress (perhaps even to his general acceptability in an ordinary school) and consequently it may have influenced his chances of being ascertained.

Although the finding of a small positive correlation between family size and adjustment was not expected, it does accord with work done in some studies, such as those of Dayton (1935) and Bossard and Boll (1954), which suggests that certain desirable non-intellectual characteristics involved in socialisation and inter-personal relationships may be positively related to membership of large families. Jackson also found that family size was related to adjustment in the areas of self-support and inter-personal relations. He found that the

nature of the relationship was in the contrary direction to that predicted in his hypothesis that the greater the number of siblings the lower would be the level of employment and personal-social adjustment achieved. It is possible that, receiving less individual attention from parents, the subjects from large families are encouraged, perhaps compelled, to be more independent. The adjustment variable which had the highest correlation with family size in the present study was that of Executive Independence. Where the family is stable and reasonably harmonious, a large number of brothers and sisters may be helpful to the subject's social life since it introduces him to a wider circle of friends and interests than he might encounter in a small family.

There was a significant positive correlation between number of siblings and Arithmetic Age at 16 years, $r = 0{\cdot}35$, $n = 66$, $p > 0{\cdot}01$. (This finding was confirmed by the relationship between family size and score on first taking the Arithmetic test of those subjects who took it a year before leaving. This relationship was also significant at the 1% level.) There was no other significant relationship between family size and score on a test administered by the author but the fact that the only negative correlation was with Vocabulary is interesting, particularly in view of studies such as that of Nisbet (1953) with Aberdeen schoolchildren which led him to conclude that part of the negative correlation usually found between family size and intelligence may be attributed to the effect of sibship size upon verbal

development. Scott and Nisbet (1955) also found with an adult sample that the negative correlation between family size and non-verbal intelligence tests was smaller than the negative correlation between family size and verbals tests. (The correlation between family size and Vocabulary found in the present study was also negative when the test was taken at 15 years.)

The family positions of the subjects are shown in Table 3.20.

Position in Family	No. of Subjects
1	22
2	21
3	10
4	5
5	6
6	1
7	2
8	2
9	1
10	1
11	0
12	1
not known	2
Total	74

Table 3.20. The positions in their families of the subjects of the follow-up study.

b. Absence of natural parents

Of the 73 subjects alive at their school leaving dates, 48, or 66%, had homes in which both natural parents were alive and resident at the time of the subject's school leaving. Of the 48 with both parents alive and at home, 2 had experienced long periods in childhood when they had been separated from one of their parents but the parents were living together again at the time the subjects left school. There were 25 of the subjects, i.e. 34%, who were illegitimate or the children of separated parents or had lost one or both parents by death, desertion or divorce by the time they left school. There were 6 who had been separated from both parents, 14 who had been separated from their fathers only and 5 who had been separated from their mothers only.

By the time the subjects reached the age of eighteen, one fatherless boy had died, reducing the number of subjects to 72 and precise information on this matter was not available in 1 case. Three more families had been broken by the death of a parent. The number of homes in which both parents were alive and resident had therefore been reduced to 44 (or 62% of those about which information was available) and the number of broken families raised to 27 (38%), the broken family of the boy who died having been excluded. There were 5 subjects separated from both parents, one girl who had lived in a Children's Home for several years had rejoined her mother in England after leaving school, thus transferring from the category of those separated from both parents to that of

those separated from father only. There were 8 subjects separated from mother only, two mothers having died since the subjects left school and one boy having left mother's home to live with father. The total number of those separated from father only was still 14, one father had died, one girl had transferred to this category from that of separation from both parents, one boy had moved to live with father instead of mother and one fatherless boy had died.

The proportion of families broken by death, divorce, desertion or separation among those of the subjects of Jackson's study in Edinburgh was 35·8%. In Matthew's study in England the proportion of the families of his E.S.N. sample which had been broken by death, divorce, desertion or separation of parents was 38·7%, while the proportion for the Secondary Modern sample was 9·7%.

In the present study, analysis revealed a negative correlation between having both parents alive and at home and the adjustment variables (Table 3.21). The negative correlation with employment adjustment was in fact significant at the 5% level. In other words, the subjects from broken homes had not generally adjusted to adult life poorly in comparison with other members of the research group but were in fact doing slightly better than the others, particularly in employment. (Of the 6 young people who obtained a rating of 1, the highest point on the scale, for overall employment adjustment, 4 came from broken homes. The families of 4 of the 7 young people who obtained the highest rating on overall social adjustment had been broken before they left school and

	r	n	p
Weeks Worked in two years	-0·26	69	$< 0·05$
Overall Employment Adjustment	-0·26	65	$< 0·05$
Financial Independence	-0·18	65	$> 0·05$
Executive Independence	-0·14	65	$> 0·05$
Social Relations	-0·15	65	$> 0·05$
Participation in Community Activities	-0·12	65	$> 0·05$
Satisfaction from Leisure Pursuits	-0·10	65	$> 0·05$
Household Responsibilities	-0·02	65	$> 0·05$
Overall Social Adjustment	-0·20	65	$> 0·05$
Total Social Adjustment	-0·16	65	$> 0·05$

Table 3.21. Relations between Both Natural Parents being alive and at home when a subject left school and post-school adjustment.

1 other had lost a parent by death by the time he was eighteen.) As in the case of the relationship between family size and adjustment, a partial explanation for the relationship between absence of natural parent(s) and adjustment may be suggested by the examination of the relationship between absence of natural parent(s) and intelligence. This is shown in Table 3.22. There was a negative correlation, significant at the 5% level, between measured intelligence and having both parents alive and at home at school leaving and at eighteen. This indicates a slightly higher mean level of measured intelligence among the subjects from broken homes. As in the case of family size the adverse home factor, in this case the absence of one, or both, natural parents, may have exerted its influence at an earlier stage rather more than at school leaving, affecting the child's school progress and consequently his chances of ascertainment. There is some support for this suggestion in the fact that, despite their higher mean level of measured intelligence, the pupils from broken homes showed no superiority in school attainments, although their social knowledge was significantly better than that of the other subjects. The negative correlation between having both parents alive and at home and score on the Vocabulary test was significant at the 1% level. Therefore, although there were similarities between the variable of absence of natural parent(s) and that of family size in relation to post-school adjustment and measured intelligence, the pattern of their relationships with the test scores differed. It should also

	r	n	p
I.Q.	-0·25	72	$< 0·05$
Reading	0·03	65	$> 0·05$
Arithmetic	-0·07	65	$> 0·05$
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·00	65	$> 0·05$
Vocabulary	-0·32	65	$< 0·01$
Manchester Scales	-0·13	65	$> 0·05$
Social Knowledge	-0·29	65	$< 0·05$
Combined Teacher's Ratings	0·02	61	$> 0·05$
Additional Disabilities	0·26	72	$< 0·05$
Family Size	0·01	71	$> 0·05$

Table 3.22. Relations between Both Natural Parents being alive and at home at the time the subject left school and other potentially predictive variables.

be noted that there was a negative correlation, significant at the 5% level, between absence of natural parent(s) and degree of additional disability. Since lack of additional disability has a significant relationship with adjustment, this also suggests a partial explanation of the comparatively successful adjustment of subjects from broken homes.

c. The Employment of Fathers

The occupations of 52 fathers or father-substitutes were known. (These were the fathers of 54 subjects. Some households were fatherless and a few fathers had been unemployed so long that they could not be regarded as having a regular occupation.) The 52 known occupations are shown in Table 3.23.

The distribution of economically active and retired males over fifteen in this county among the socio-economic groups is as follows: 2·7% professional workers, 7·8% employers and managers, 38·4% foremen, skilled manual workers and own account workers, 13·6% non-manual workers, 23·9% personal service, semi-skilled and agricultural workers, 9·5% unskilled manual workers and 4·3% members of the Armed Forces and unclassified occupations. It is not surprising that professional workers are so little represented among the fathers of the subjects of this study since there is such a small proportion of them in the general population. What can be seen from Table 3.23, however, is that among the fathers of the subjects there is a disproportionately large number

	Occupation	No. of Fathers	
Employees of National Coal Board	Ventilation Officer	1	
	Miner	10	
	Washer worker	1	
	Farmer	1	
	Tractor driver	1	
	Cattleman	1	
	Unspecified farm work	4	(fathers of 6 subjects)
	Woodcutter	1	
	Teacher	1	
	School janitor	1	
	Dustman	2	
	Shipwright	1	
	Dockyard labourer	1	
	Electrician (not tradesman)	1	
	Brazer	1	
	Diesel mechanic	1	
	Long distance lorry drivers	2	
	Excavator operator	1	
	Quarryman	1	
	Bricklayer's labourer	3	
	Conveyor watcher in brick works	1	
	Labourer in brick works	1	
	Labourer in foundry	1	
	Machine operator	1	
	Labourer in linoleum factory	1	
	Labourer in paper mill	1	
	Labourer in unspecified factory	1	
	Labourer, workplace unspecified	3	
	Ganger	1	
	Window cleaner (own business)	1	
	Owner of scrap metal business	1	
	Upholsterer	2	
	Barman	1	
	Total	52	

Table 3.23. The occupations of fathers (or father substitutes) of the subjects of the follow-up study.

of unskilled manual workers and a disproportionately small number of foremen and skilled manual workers. Although it may do so, it cannot be automatically assumed that this disproportion reflects a particular policy of ascertainment or a bias on the part of those selecting pupils for special schooling, since it has been fairly well established that the mean measured intelligence of children rises with the social class of their parents (Floud, Halsey and Martin, 1956). Nevertheless, that there was some reluctance to ascertain children whose parents were in certain types of occupation was apparent in a letter from one medical officer who wrote, "This has been a rather difficult case, as you will notice that the father is a school teacher, but I can see nothing for it but that she be transferred to a special class."

The fathers of 17 subjects had had considerable periods of unemployment during the follow-up period and in some cases before the subjects left school. In 11 of the cases the fathers were clearly disabled by physical ill health or handicap, although in three of these cases there was an additional factor of mental illness or subnormality which may have been as important as the physical disability. In 2 cases there was some evidence of physical ill health which may have played a part in causing the unemployment but which did not appear to be the reason for its prolonged or frequent nature. In 1 case the father had been a psychiatric patient and there was no clear evidence of physical illness. In 3 cases there were no apparent health reasons for the unemployment.

The most prolonged unemployment was that of a man who was registered as blind, who had not worked for at least five years before his son left school and who remained unemployed throughout the research period (the son achieved the highest possible rating on the overall employment adjustment scale). Two other fathers had been unable to work for at least three years before the final interviews took place; one had had a serious spinal operation and might never work again (his daughter was fully employed until her marriage in the third year after she left school), the other reported that he suffered from slipped discs and "nervous trouble" and had in fact been a psychiatric patient (his daughter, whose I.Q. was 56 and whose scores on some of the tests were very low, was not placed in employment until she was nearly eighteen). Two other fathers were reported to have had back trouble; one had had an operation because of a slipped disc and his unemployment was not prolonged beyond the usual recovery period (his daughter was employed continuously throughout the follow-up time), but in the other case, in which the father was off work for several months, the bad back was of a rather dubious nature (the daughter, who suffered from epilepsy, did not work at all during the two-year follow-up period although she was placed later). When the interviewer visited the homes, one father had not worked for over a year because of chronic bronchitis (his son was consistently employed throughout the two-year follow-up) and another had been prevented from working for many months by kidney disease (his son had had three jobs in the two years

after leaving school and two three-month periods of unemployment). One girl's foster-father was seriously ill with cancer of the lung and the father of one boy had had a major operation for the removal of cancer at about the time his son left school but was working normally by the end of the research period (both these subjects were fully employed during the two years after leaving school). One father had lost a leg in a pit accident and had also received psychiatric treatment (his son was severely sub-normal and went straight from school to a Senior Training Centre). Another father had had a serious accident about seven years before his son left school and had since been subject to epileptic fits and was also reported to be mentally dull (the son was fully employed throughout the follow-up period despite poor hearing and sight). The father of a girl who married and left work soon after leaving school had an accident in his job as a window cleaner during the follow-up period and did not work again until his death two years later, but he was an older man who had probably reached retiring age. The father of another girl had had an accident but this was apparently not the real reason why he had been off work for six months when the interviewer called. As he was reluctant to reveal or discuss his unemployment, the interviewer did not pursue the subject (the daughter had been fully employed until her marriage some months before the interviews took place). Another father had been unemployed for six months for no obvious reason when he was interviewed (his daughter was never employed throughout the research

period). Two other fathers had frequent periods of unemployment during the subjects' childhoods; one had been a psychiatric patient (his son was fully employed during the follow-up), there was no known reason for the unemployment of the other (his daughter had a good work record but had left the parental home to live with her grandmother who had been largely responsible for her up-bringing). One father had been unemployed for over a year when interviewed at the end of the research, giving as his reason the fact that he could not get work. His wife had died three years earlier and the subject, his eldest daughter, had left her job to look after the family but had not coped well.

d. The Mental Health of the Families

There were 13 subjects (17·6%) who had a parent who had been a patient at a psychiatric hospital or clinic or who had been under medication for a psychiatric disturbance for a considerable period. The mothers of 7 subjects had been psychiatric patients, 1 mother had suffered from depression but was not known to have received hospital treatment and 1 other mother had been under medication for several years for "nervous trouble". The fathers of 4 subjects had been psychiatric patients. (It is possible that there were other cases of which no record existed in the files of the schools or the School Medical Officers or in the information available to the author from social work agencies. No attempt was made to consult hospital records or those of General Practitioners.) In addition to these 13 cases, 1 father suffered

from epileptic fits.

The proportion of mothers who had suffered from mental illness, 12·2%, may be compared with that of 9·5% found by Jackson (1967) in Edinburgh. Jackson found that 4·3% of the fathers of his subjects had been mentally ill, the proportion in the present study being 5·4%.

The author decided not to include in her analysis a variable of parent's mental subnormality because of the unreliability of the evidence on this point. In a few cases where a parent had attended a special school or had been committed to a mental deficiency institution, there was firm evidence of mental subnormality, but in most cases the only information consisted of comments by Assistant Medical Officers about the impressions they had formed during brief interviews or the opinions of teachers or social workers based on their impressions during conversations. Phrases such as, "appears none too bright", "not a person of very acute intelligence", "of limited mental ability", "of low mentality" occur frequently in the records with reference to parents. Although some of these impressionistic diagnoses may have been correct, many may well have been influenced by the parent's appearance, articulateness, co-operativeness or respectability and as such they cannot be accepted as reliable assessments of intelligence.

With regard to siblings, the evidence was more soundly based because the nature of their education was generally known. As they had grown up at a time when special education was more extensively provided than in their parents' childhood,

the nature of their education was generally a reliable guide to their mental ability. (It must be remembered, however, that a few siblings who were already in employment when the records were compiled may have attended special classes without this fact being recorded and there may therefore be a slight underestimation of the proportion of subjects with a mentally subnormal sibling.) There were 25 subjects (33·8%) who had at least one sibling who was attending, or had attended, a special class for mentally handicapped pupils or an Occupation Centre or was, or had been, resident in a mental deficiency institution. In a number of cases several siblings in the one family had been ascertained to be mentally handicapped. In addition 2 subjects had siblings who were attending, or had attended, special centres for emotionally disturbed children, 1 had a sister who had spent a considerable time in a hospital for epileptic patients and 1 had a brother who suffered from spina bifida.

In Edinburgh Jackson found that 24·6% of his subjects had at least one sibling who had been assessed as mentally subnormal.

e. General Note on Family Background

The fact that among the subjects of this present study a positive correlation was found between measured intelligence and a number of home factors that would normally be regarded as adverse lends some support to the suggestion, advanced by Stein and Susser (1960) and others, that social factors

influence selection for special schooling. Their contention that "factors beyond intelligence, such as social and classroom behaviour, must influence selection...." derives some small measure of support from the fact that, although the subjects of the present study who came from large families or broken homes had a higher mean level of intelligence than the others, there was a small negative correlation between these home factors and score on the combined teacher's ratings. However, the wide disparity between the numbers of boys and girls ascertained as being E.S.N. and the wide disparity between the intelligence quotients of the sexes which Stein and Susser used as evidence in support of their argument did not exist in the present study.

Certainly the findings of this study conflict, not with the findings, but with the assumption made by Robertson when he wrote, "In view of the strong genetic factors in determining intelligence, it might be expected that the duller children would come from the least adequate parents and, since success has been shown to be related to intelligence, it was expected that the children from the best homes would be most successful." In fact Robertson's results led him to conclude that home conditions had no influence on occupational success and he went on to say, "Since one would expect the duller children to come from the worst homes it is even possible that a bad home renders success more likely."

The findings of Jackson in Edinburgh accord with those of the present study. He found that the subjects from "supportive home environments" tended to have lower measured intelligence.

Chapter 4. THE FOLLOW UP-STUDY
DISCUSSION OF CRITERION VARIABLES

A. Employment Adjustment

Of the 72 (3 untested) young people whose progress was followed, 38 were girls and 34 were boys. The forms used for recording details of their employment during the two years after they left school appear as Appendix 3a and b. The method of recording is described in Chapter 2Bii.

i) Contact with the Youth Employment Service

The local Youth Employment Service is described in Chapter 2Av. All but three of the subjects were seen by their local Youth Employment Officer before they left school. Their contact with the Youth Employment Officer at this stage took the form of a short interview. This interview took place at an average of thirty-one days before the subjects left school (the average period is reduced to twenty-eight days if two boys who were seen an unusually long time beforehand are excluded). Some officers visited the local special schools to hold these interviews, others held them in their offices.

A procedure had been adopted in this county whereby records of a secondary school pupil were kept for the purposes of the Youth Employment Service for several years before he left school and ratings of his personality traits were made by successive teachers. Also interest tests were administered to him. This procedure was not followed for pupils from special schools. In these cases Youth Employment Officers

relied for information on conversations with teachers and pupils, and sometimes parents, and on facts recorded on an official form (Appendix 1). The information entered on this form was often very limited in its usefulness to the Youth Employment Officer.

A parent of a subject of this study was present at the first interview with the Youth Employment Officer in only one in six cases. Whether a parent was present, however, was not determined only by the degree of parental interest but also by the policy of the local Youth Employment Officer. Some Youth Employment Officers invited parents to the first interview, others preferred to see them later. Generally when the first interview took place at the school, parente were not invited to it but were asked to call at the Youth Employment Office later. Altogether two-thirds of the families responded and accepted an invitation to see the officer, either at the first interview or later, although in two cases it was an elder brother rather than a parent who came along and in one case a grandmother.

Twenty-eight, or 46·7% (14, or 50%, of the girls and 14, or 43·8%, of the boys) of the 60 young people who took up employment at some time during the two years after leaving school were placed in their first jobs by Youth Employment Officers. Considered only within the limited time of the follow-up period, these placements appear to have been little more satisfactory than the jobs which the young people found through other contacts. The average length of time spent in a first job where a Youth Employment Officer had effected

the placement was 54·6 weeks. The average length of time spent in a first job which the young person had found by other means was 54·1 weeks. It must be borne in mind, however, that 23 young people were still in their first jobs when the follow-up period ended, so no final comparisons can be made. Fourteen, or 50%, of those placed in their first jobs by Youth Employment Officers were still in them, as compared with 9, or 28·1%, of those who had found their jobs by other means. This suggests that the gap in the average length of time spent in the first job by the two groups, those placed by a Youth Employment Officer and those not, will probably widen. The comparison is not in any case entirely fair to the Youth Employment Service because, although some of those whom they placed were potentially competent and reliable workers, the subjects least likely to obtain jobs through other contacts and therefore likely to rely most heavily on the Youth Employment Service were the least able and employable.

Of the 15 young people (9 girls and 6 boys) who had remained in their first jobs for more than a hundred weeks and were still employed in them at the end of the two-year follow-up period, 8 (4 girls and 4 boys) had been placed by a Youth Employment Officer. Two of the 3 boys who received an A rating for their job performance (Chapter 4Aiv) had been placed in that job by a Youth Employment Officer and the third was in a similar job, that of apprentice butcher, to the one in which a Youth Employment Officer had originally placed him.

ii) Total amount of time in employment

Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 show the length of time spent by the subjects in employment during the first two years after leaving school. (Two of the 72 subjects whose progress was followed are excluded from these tables. One boy changed his job as a farm labourer several times and the Youth Employment Officer was not able to supply dates for all the job changes so his length of time in employment could not be calculated. Shortly before the end of the two-year period trace was lost of one girl who had removed to England on leaving school. Although a good deal of information about her progress had been collected, her total time in employment could not be given with certainty.)

Fifty per cent (43·2% of the girls and 57·6% of the boys) of the subjects were in employment for more than eighteen months. The complement of this statement is that 50% of the subjects were "unemployed" for a total of at least six months during the two years. "Unemployed" in this statement includes three girls who ceased to register for employment because of domestic responsibilities and a few girls who never seriously sought employment because their parents did not wish them to do so. 61·4% (48·7% of the girls and 75·8% of the boys) of the subjects were in employment for a total time of more than one year.

Ten girls (27%) and 2 boys (6·1%) had no employment at all, i.e. 12 (17·4%) of the subjects were never employed during the two years. In addition, another 2 girls and 2 boys spent less than six days in employment, so 12 girls

No. of Jobs	Number of Weeks																					Total	%
	0	0·1 -5	5·1 -10	10·1 -15	15·1 -20	20·1 -25	25·1 -30	30·1 -35	35·1 -40	40·1 -45	45·1 -50	50·1 -55	55·1 -60	60·1 -65	65·1 -70	70·1 -75	75·1 -80	80·1 -85	85·1 -90	90·1 -95	95·1 -100	100·1 -105		
0																						12	17·1
1		4		2		1		1	1						1	1	1	1		1	3	15	32	45·7
2		2			1								1		1				2		1	2	10	14·3
3						1										1				1	1	4	8	11·4
4										1									1	1			3	4·3
5					1														1				2	2·9
6																							0	·
7																1	1						2	2·9
8																1							1	1·4
Total	12	6	0	2	2	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	4	2	1	4	3	5	21	70	100·0
%	17·1	8·6	·	2·9	2·9	2·9	·	1·4	1·4	1·4	·	·	1·4	·	2·9	5·7	2·9	1·4	5·7	4·3	7·1	30·0	100·0	

Table 4.1. Number of weeks worked and number of jobs held by subjects of the follow-up study (girls and boys) during their first two years after leaving school.

No. of Jobs	Number of Weeks																					Total	%
	0	0·1 -5	5·1 -10	10·1 -15	15·1 -20	20·1 -25	25·1 -30	30·1 -35	35·1 -40	40·1 -45	45·1 -50	50·1 -55	55·1 -60	60·1 -65	65·1 -70	70·1 -75	75·1 -80	80·1 -85	85·1 -90	90·1 -95	95·1 -100	100·1 -105		
0																						10	27·0
1		2		2		1		1	1						1							9	17	46·0
2					1						·										1		2	5·4
3						1															1	3	5	13·5
4																			1	1			2	5·4
5																							0	·
6																							0	·
7																1							1	2·7
8																							0	·
Total	10	2	0	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	12	37	100·0
%	27·0	5·4	·	5·4	2·7	5·4	·	2·7	2·7	·	·	·	·	·	2·7	2·7	·	·	2·7	2·7	5·4	32·4	99·9	

Table 4.2. Number of weeks worked and number of jobs held by Girls in the follow-up study during their first two years after leaving school.

No. of Jobs	Number of Weeks																					Total	%
	0	0·1 -5	5·1 -10	10·1 -15	15·1 -20	20·1 -25	25·1 -30	30·1 -35	35·1 -40	40·1 -45	45·1 -50	50·1 -55	55·1 -60	60·1 -65	65·1 -70	70·1 -75	75·1 -80	80·1 -85	85·1 -90	90·1 -95	95·1 -100	100·1 -105		
0																						2	6·1
1		2														1	1	1		1	3	6	15	45·5
2		2											1		1				2			2	8	24·2
3																1				1		1	3	9·1
4										1													1	3·0
5					1														1				2	6·1
6																							0	·
7																	1						1	3·0
8																1							1	3·0
Total	2	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	2	1	3	2	3	9	31	100·0
%	6·1	12·1	·	·	3·0	·	·	·	·	3·0	·	·	3·0	·	3·0	9·1	6·1	3·0	9·1	6·1	9·1	27·3	100·0	

Table 4.3. Number of weeks worked and number of jobs held by Boys in the follow-up study during their first two years after leaving school.

(32·4%) and 4 boys (12·1%) i.e. 16 (22·9%) of the subjects had less than a week in employment. (The boy whose record was excluded from the table had very little unemployment during the two years, despite his job changes. The girl had four jobs lasting a total of 26·4 weeks followed by a long period of unemployment and she was still unemployed when trace was lost. The proportion of totally unemployed subjects would therefore have been slightly less had these two subjects been included in the calculations.) The average length of time spent by the seventy subjects in employment was 60·3 weeks, SD 43·1

iii) Number of jobs

The average number of jobs held by the subjects in the two years after leaving (including the jobs in which some were still employed) was 1·7 SD 1·7. These figures include the young people who had no jobs at all. The average number of jobs among those who were at some time employed was 2·1.

Of the 58 subjects who were employed at all, 8 (13·8%) had four or more jobs in the two years. Of these, 5 (8·6% of the 58) had five or more jobs in that period. The characteristics of those who changed jobs frequently are discussed in section Aix of this chapter. Comparative figures for the general survey are given in Chapter 5.

Of the 72 subjects, 23 had held one job for at least eighteen months. There were 15 young people who at the end of the follow-up period had had less than four weeks

unemployment in the two years and were still employed in the job in which they started work. Two with equally good employment records were in their second jobs at the end of the period and 4 who had had over one hundred weeks in employment were in their third jobs. These 4 had all spent substantial periods in their first jobs (in three cases over a year, in one case eleven months), they had all subsequently tried another job for a brief period before returning to their original places of employment.

iv) Employers' reports and Youth Employment Officers' ratings

To supplement the information collected on length of time in employment and number of jobs held, an attempt was made to assess the quality of work of which these young people were capable. The procedure by which this was done has been described in detail in Chapter 2Bii. A questionnaire for employers (Appendix 4) was devised by the writer and taken to firms by Youth Employment Officers. Completed forms were collected by the Youth Employment Officers and a panel of nine Youth Employment Officers rated the job performance of every young person for whom a return was received. (The instructions to raters appear as Appendix 5.)

Each of the nine raters, who were all qualified and experienced Youth Employment Officers, independently rated every young person for whom a form was returned on the basis of his employer's replies. They also rated the young people in Senior Occupation Centres on their success in working in sheltered conditions but these were rated as a separate group

and were not compared with those in open employment. If all the resultant ratings, those for employed young people and those for young people attending Senior Occupation Centres are analysed together, the average correlation between two raters is $\bar{r} = 0{\cdot}75$. This is an estimate of the reliability of a single rater. The reliability of the mean of n=9 raters, elicited by the formula

$$r_m = \frac{n\bar{r}}{n\bar{r} + (1 - \bar{r})}$$

is 0·96. If the ratings on young people employed in open employment are analysed separately $\bar{r} = 0{\cdot}76$ and $r_m = 0{\cdot}97$.

At the time the questionnaires were completed the young people had all been out of school for at least seventeen months. By this time, therefore, a number had dropped out of employment and, with the exception of one girl who had not been placed until twenty-one months after leaving, the young people who were working at this time might generally be regarded as those who had shown themselves to be the most employable. (Two of the boys not rated because they were not employed at the time had each had a total of thirteen months in employment, one girl had worked over eight months before leaving to get married and one for eight months before leaving to take over the household duties from her dying mother. Otherwise, none of those not rated had a total of more than five months employment and all had been out of work for a considerable time before the assessments were made.)

Of the 72 young people included in the follow-up, 40 were working in the county at this time. The others were

housewives, residents in mental or penal institutions, attenders at Senior Occupation Centres or simply unemployed and at home, apart from 3 who had moved to other areas. Forms were not returned for 2 of the young people working in the county. One had recently changed her place of work and her employer could not be traced in time. The other worked on the family farm and, although her mother had agreed to complete a form, the reply was not forthcoming, despite several reminders. A form was, however, returned for 1 boy who lost his job before the rating procedure was completed. The following report is therefore based on material contained in 39 returns, 16 for girls and 23 for boys.

Table 4.4 shows the jobs in which the young people were employed, together with the average of the nine ratings given them by the Youth Employment Officers. One corresponds to an A rating and five to an E rating.

Proficiency

a) Quality. Among the 16 girls, the standard or quality of work was reported to be good or above average in 6 cases. One of these was described as "the best girl at this job we have had for some time" and others were said to "compare very favourably". The standard or quality of work of 5 of the girls was average, although one of these was "unable to identify faults from the previous operation". 4 girls were below average in the quality of their work. In 1 case the question was said not to be applicable.

	Nature of Occupation as given by employer	Average Rating	Equivalent to:
1.	A weaver, operating 4 looms producing Industrial Canvas Cloth	1·67	B
2.	Bobbin stripper, removing extra yarn from the loom bobbin prior to the latter being refilled in the Winding Dept.	2·56	C
3.	Hands out work to machinists. Puts pieces of garments together in boxes. Gives out thread to machinists.	2·44	B
4.	Domestic work in Old People's Home.	2·67	C
5.	Packing and parcelling of travellers' trade samples in jam factory.	3·56	D
6.	Fibro yarn reeler.	2·89	C
7.	Assistant cleaner in paper mill.	4·11	D
8.	Cutting towels.	3·00	C
9.	Despatch worker in carpet factory. Allocates specification tickets (design and size of rug) from despatch sheets to stapling machine. Ensures adequate stock of tickets.	4·00	D
10.	Despatch worker in carpet factory. Attaches labels on rugs with use of foot-operated stapling machine.	2·44	B
11.	Hank winder, transfers wool yarn from hank form to bobbins. Work is done on winding machine.	2·56	C
12.	Operates welding and cutting machines in firm making various sized bags and covers from sheet plastic. Also bundling up and packing.	1·67	B
13.	Hand pressing garments in a clothing factory.	2·56	C
14.	Thread cutter in a textile factory.	1·67	B
15.	Draws ends through weaving reed. Prepares heald frames for drawer. Reaches in for drawers and helps tie warp up warp up.	2·56	C

16.	Magazine filler, carries pirns which have been wound with weft thread from the Winding Section to the Weaving Section where the magazines or shuttles are filled with pirns.	3.22	C

Table 4.4a. Jobs held by mentally handicapped girls at the time of assessment in December 1968.

	Nature of Occupation as given by employer	Average Rating	Equivalent to:
1.	Labouring duties and van boy with soft drinks firm.	2·00	B
2.	Potato worker.	3·00	C
3.	Mining apprentice, presently rope-splicing underground.	3·89	D
4.	Assistant groom	3·56	D
5.	Butcher's apprentice - delivering messages, helping in the manufacture of sausages, puddings, etc.	1·00	A
6.	General labouring in timber firm, also drives fork-lift truck.	2·00	B
7.	General farm work without responsibility, drives tractor but not for precision work.	2·89	C
8.	Apprentice moulder, prepares sand moulds for the production of iron castings.	2·22	B
9.	Labouring in meal mill, moving bags of grain, feed and fertiliser, sorting empty bags, emptying lorries, sweeping up.	3·78	D
10.	Facing brick press attendant, stacking bricks from press on to pallets.	1·00	A
11.	Window cleaning	1·11	A
12.	Bundling pit lids, pieces of hardwood gathered in twelves, wired together and stacked on pallets.	1·89	B
13.	Labourer in animal feeding stuffs department.	3·44	C
14.	Lister truck driver - short distance between two works.	3·78	D
15.	Labourer in dressing dept. of linen firm.	3·22	C

16.	Coal porter.	2·89	C
17.	Agricultural labourer.	3·67	D
18.	Spreading out of sheepskin pelts (i.e. raw leather) on to wooden pallets after pickling process,	2·89	C
19.	Oiler assistant in wool factory	3·22	C
20.	General duties and labouring in wool factory.		
21.	Labourer in yarn dept., receiving and storing various yarns which he then distributes as and when required to the operators.	1·67	B
22.	Junior tradesman - capstan lathe - in H.M. Dockyard.	4·11	D
23.	General and labouring factory work i.e. packing, carrying materials, clearing up.	3·33	C

Table 4.4b. Jobs held by mentally handicapped boys at the time of assessment in December 1968.

The standard or quality of work of 8 of the 23 boys was reported to be good or above average, the work of some being described as "first class". 7 boys were of average standard in their work and 7 were below average. 1 boy, employed as a farm labourer, worked at an average standard on some jobs but was below average on others.

b) Output. The question on output was not applicable in the case of 4 girls and 6 boys. Of the 12 girls to whom it did apply, 1 was reported to produce above average output, the output of 6 was average and that of 4 below average. 1 girl's output was average on one of the operations she had to perform but below average on another.

The output of 5 of the boys was above average, the reply for 1 boy, a butcher's apprentice, being "very good, nearly double that of his fellow mate" and for another, a worker in a wood yard, "almost twice that of normal boys employed." The output of 8 boys was described as more or less average, although one of these varied from above average on some tasks to below average on others. The output of 4 boys was below average, that of one being estimated as only 25%-30% of the normal.

c) Speed. 2 girls were reported to be among the quickest workers employed on their particular operations. 4 girls worked at an average speed while 2 others were as quick as most on some parts of their job but slower on other parts. 6 girls were reported to be slower than other workers, although 2 of these were described as being only slightly so.

In two cases there were no means of comparing the girls' speeds with those of other workers.

Of the boys, 5 worked at above average speed, 2 being described as much faster. 7 boys worked at about the same speed as other workers. The owner of the business for which one of these worked wrote, "He is able to clean windows as quickly as us. He does not waste any working time whatsoever, if he is finished his share of work first he immediately comes and helps to finish ours." 1 boy worked at average speed on parts of his job but was slower on other parts. 10 boys were slower than other workers, 2 only slightly so but 1, the boy who attained only 25%-30% output, was very considerably so. One of the ten boys described as slower was in fact "inclined to rush, result, numerous mistakes ... additional time required rectifying and renewing." On the other hand, employers of two of the boys who were slower than average pointed out that they were steadier than other workers and one of them was in fact the boy whose output was almost twice that of normal boys employed.

Table 4.5 shows the proficiency of these young people at work. The term "variable" implies that the young person carries out some of the operations his job requires as well or as quickly as most workers but is poorer or slower than most workers on other operations. It does not refer to personal fluctuations in quality or speed.

Conscientiousness

a) Need for constant supervision. Among the girls 9 were reported to work steadily on their own when not being

	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Variable	Not Applicable
Quality of Work					
Girls	6	5	4	-	1
Boys	8	7	7	1	-
Total	14	12	11	1	1
Output					
Girls	1	6	4	1	4
Boys	5	7	4	1	6
Total	6	13	8	2	10
Speed of Work					
Girls	1	5	6	22	2
Boys	5	7	10	1	-
Total	6	12	16	3	2

Table 4.5. Numbers of mentally handicapped young people attaining standards and speeds of work and output above, level with and below those of other workers employed on the same operation.

supervised. 5 were said to require supervision but in only 3 of these cases did the need for supervision seem so constant as to cause annoyance to the employer or supervisor. One departmental manager took the trouble to make it clear that the girl was not unusual in requiring supervision, "She requires supervision sometimes, as do other girls; when working with some girls she tends to talk." (In the cases of 2 girls the reply to this question was not clear.)

There were 10 boys who were recorded as working steadily when not being supervised, although one works manager added a condition, "He works equally well when without supervision, provided he has been left with a task to fulfil." 10 boys were said to need supervision, although it was in only 4 cases that this seemed to be exceptionally close or constant supervision such as to cause annoyance to the employer or supervisor. In several cases, employers made the point that the supervision was required to make sure that the boy had grasped and was carrying out his instructions correctly, not because he was likely to slack off or fool around. (In 3 cases the reply was not clear or the question was not applicable because by the nature of the job the boy was constantly under the eye of a senior worker.)

b) Time-Keeping. There were 1 boy and 1 girl who were reported to be frequently late in arriving in the mornings and 1 boy's time-keeping was described as "fairly good". Otherwise, all the replies to the question "Does this young

person keep good time?" were "yes", "very good" or "perfect".

c) Absenteeism. Of the girls 4 had taken time off from work other than for reasons of sickness or emergency. One "frequently has single or half day off for frivolous reasons," another "has had broken time during 8 weeks out of the last 30 weeks." The other 2 offenders had given less trouble, one had had three days off without permission and the other had had five days, including three on an occasion when she ran away from home. A fifth girl had had periods of absence ostensibly for sickness when it was suspected that her mother's wanting help in the home was the real reason.

Of the boys, 4 had failed to turn up when they were not prevented by illness or emergency but in one case it had been on a single occasion and in the other three cases the occasions were few. 1 other boy occasionally went home early, having "taken offence from other staff", but he always reappeared next morning.

Personal Relationships

a) Ability to get on with workmates. The majority of the young people were reported to get on well with their workmates. In the cases of 3 girls this report was qualified. One was said to get on "quite well", another got on "reasonably well" but had some difficulty because she was "slightly immature in outlook" and the third who usually got on well "had had disagreements on a few occasions as her tendency to talk about other people and her quick

temper had led her into arguments." A fourth girl was reported to get on well but did not speak much to the others. The remaining 12 girls were all described as getting on well or very well with workmates, though one had had difficulty at first.

Of the boys, 15 2ere reported to get on well with fellow workers. 2 others were said to get on well in the sense that they did not cause trouble but they did not mix. The report on one of these was, "Works harmoniously with workmates but appears to keep within himself and not invited to join in the general group" and on the other, "he is not a boy who mixes, but has no trouble with his workmates." 3 boys did not work entirely harmoniously with their mates. One of these got on fairly well but had a tendency to be drawn into arguments. Another got on "not too badly" but the employer remarked that occasional leg-pulling by workmates did not help although this did not happen often since the boy's fellow workers had been warned against it. The third boy in this group was reported to get on well with his mates but the employer added, "Only twice has he been warned of fighting with workmates (which could have been the result of other workers making remarks) but otherwise he appears to make friends with fellow workmates." (By "remarks", the employer may have meant general leg-pulling but as this boy is not odd in appearance or manner, he may have been referring to specific remarks about the boy's family, the father having been detained for a period in a State Mental Institution after killing a man in a fight.) There were 2 cases where boys were definitely

reported not to get on well with their fellow workers. One boy was temperamental and depended considerably on the tolerance and understanding of the man he was working with. The main source of trouble was said to be the boy's refusal to wear his glasses to correct his very poor sight and his extreme touchiness when his failure to see something was pointed out to him. In the other case, the reply was, "A young man employed in a female section and difficulties arose because of this." The difficulties were not specified on the form but according to the Youth Employment Officer's report the boy was dismissed for indecent exposure.

b) Ability to get on well with Supervisors. The young people were generally reported to get on well with supervisors. No doubt in some cases the supervisors made more allowance for their handicap or difficult behaviour than workmates did. For instance, one girl who was said to get on well with supervisors but only fairly well with workmates had been put in the care of a supervisor who was "particularly sympathetic and understanding." The answer to the question, "Does she get on well with supervisors?" was "yes" for all the girls but 2. For one of these the reply was "yes and no", the girl's absenteeism apparently being the cause of friction. The other girl got on "reasonably well" but had "some difficulty in communicating with supervisors and tends to misunderstand minor reprimands etc." 2 boys did not get on well. One was the boy who was dismissed for indecent exposure. The reason for the other's failure was given thus, "If he is given too many orders, he loses his temper and starts swearing."

Flexibility

Operations other than the ones on which they were presently employed had been successfully performed by 7 of the 16 girls and 12 of the 23 boys and 1 was undergoing a period of trial. (This of course refers to other operations performed while working for their present employers. A few young people had also performed other operations successfully in previous employment.) 8 of the girls and 2 of the boys had been given another operation to perform for a trial period but had not been successful. 3 of these 8 girls, however, had also performed operations other than their present ones successfully.

Some of the young people had not been tried on other operations because their employers felt that there was little chance of their being successful, for instance one girl who prepared heald frames and would normally have been given a trial at drawing in the frames had not been put on this task because shh could not count accurately enough.

The nature of the operations that the young people had performed or failed to perform successfully is shown in Table 4.6. In addition one boy who had been instructed in various skills as part of his Dockyard apprenticeship and was now on a capstan lathe was described as "Not progressing beyond 1st machine instruction Shaping machine. Very little Milling machine work."

There were 2 girls and 2 boys who had had experience of shift work. 6 girls and 12 boys sometimes did Saturday work, in a few cases this was a normal feature of work with

Nature of Present Job	Other operations successfully performed	Employer's Comments	Operations attempted without success	Employer's Comments
Domestic work in old people's home	Helped with nursing duties under supervision.			
Fibro yarn reeler	Operating twisting machine.	Has shown some aptitude for this although not fully trained for it.	Spool winder.	Originally attempted to train her for spool winding. Showed little aptitude or interest. Reason may be that operatives on this type of machine correct material faults while machine is running. In present job machine is stopped while fault is corrected.
Despatch worker in carpet factory. Allocates specification tickets from despatch sheets to stapling machine. Ensures adequate stock of tickets.	Parcelling up rugs.	Rather slow but did a fair job.	Collecting rugs from warehouse as specified on order sheet.	Lack of concentration, easily distracted - due to insufficient supervision in warehouse. Very slow.

Nature of Present Job	Other operations successfully performed	Employer's Comments	Operations attempted without success	Employer's Comments
Despatch worker in carpet factory. Attaches labels on rugs with use of foot operated stapling machine.	1. Collecting rugs from warehouse as specified on order sheets. 2. Allocating labels to stapling machine.		In Darning Section of Finishing Department - repairing weaving faults in carpet.	Seemed unable to concentrate on job in hand, so did not meet minimum production target for job. She requested a return to her present job after 3 months.
Hank winder in carpet factory. Transfers wool yarn from hank form to bobbins using winding machine.	Spooling tablehand. Placing bobbins on table in predetermined order from pattern sheet and joining ends of yarn with special knot.	Job requires fair degree of manual dexterity as well as good memory. Promoted from this to present job.		
Operates simple welding and cutting machines in firm manufacturing bags and covers from sheet plastic. Also bundling and and packing.	Cutting of shapes (e.g. direction arrows) from sheet plastic with use of jigs.			
Thread cutter in textile mill.	Short period on Printing.	Showed promise.	On scalloping machine for a short while.	A rather exacting job that requires concentration. This became a little too much for her.

Nature of Present Job	Other operations successfully performed	Employer's Comments	Operations attempted without success	Employer's Comments
Packing and parcelling of travellers' trade samples in jam factory.			Sent to help on bonus earning packing operation.	Could not earn bonus. Reflexes too slow.
Assistant cleaner			Helping to stick gummed tape from round dispenser on to parcels of paper. Letter delivering.	Too slow. Could not cope on her own; not sure enough of herself.
Cutting towels			Hemming machines.	May try again.
Magazine filler - carrying pirns from winding section to weaving section where magazines or shuttles are filled with pirns.			One attempt made to train her as a weaver.	Not at all happy, after a week she requested to revert to job as a filler.
Bobbin stripper.	Presently undergoing trial on cone winding machine.			

Table 4.6a. Occupational adaptability of mentally handicapped girls: brief job descriptions for girls who have been tried on more than one operation by their present employers.

Nature of Present Job	Other operations successfully performed	Employer's Comments	Operations attempted without success	Employer's Comments
Rope splicing underground (mining trainee)	Sandfilling lamp cabin and stores on surface.			
Assistant Groom	A little farm work			
General labouring also drives fork-lift truck, in sawmill.	Work on cross-cut saw and back of re-saw.	Can turn his hand to most jobs.		
Potato worker.	Has provisional licence and drives tractor often in potato field.	Does a good job of this up and down field but we doubt if he would actually pass a driving test.		
General farm work without responsibility. Drives tractor but not for precision work. Does not use large or specialised machines.	Being trained to use tractor loader.	Job calls for quick thought and action. Pleasantly surprised at his progress. Also shows willing to be stand-in pigman, an unpopular job. Pigman is his uncle.		

Nature of Present Job	Other operations successfully performed	Employer's Comments	Operations attempted without success	Employer's Comments
Facing brick press attendant.	Unspecified	He is biddable and adaptable. (Employer does not specify other operations performed but makes it clear that he performs all duties that normal workers perform and that he "holds his own well with workmates."		
Bundling pit lids Small pieces of hardwood gathered in twelves and wired together and stacked on pallets.	Loading lorries. Cleaning and tidying up joiner's shop etc.	Seems to have a tidy mind.		
Lister truck driver - short distance between 2 works.	Bobbin carrier - taking bobbins from one part of factory to another.			
Labourer in dressing department of linen factory.	Helped at warping machines.			
Coal porter.	Has driven grab on occasions and helped with its maintenance.	Good mechanical mind.		

Nature of Present Job	Other operations successfully performed	Employer's Comments	Operations attempted without success	Employer's Comments
Spreading out of sheepskin pelts on to wooden pallets after pickling process.			Had trial period period on a machine.	Found it awkward, possibly due to his being left-handed.
Oiler assistant.	Previously a general duty worker.	As good as other employees doing the same job.		
General duties worker.			Labouring.	Unsuitable.
Labourer in Yarn Department. Receives and stores various yarns and distributes them to the operators as and when required.	Has assisted in Finishing, Beaming and Despatch Departments.			

Table 4.6b. Occupational adaptability of mentally handicapped boys: brief job descriptions for boys who have been tried on more than one operation by their present employers.

the firm. 1 girl and 6 boys had experienced changes in their working hours.

In 2 cases only were difficulties reported. 1 girl had been asked to work on Saturday mornings but had always failed to put in an appearance. 1 boy did not seem to mind the fact that his firm always worked on Saturday mornings and he worked just as well then as at any other time but he had been absent for six Saturday mornings, ostensibly through sickness. The employer, who regarded the boy's work very highly, added a note, "This I am sure has not been his fault but I feel someone at home is to blame."

Responsibility

Few of the young people had had opportunities for exercising responsibility beyond the performance of their own jobs. In some cases, this was because it was not in the nature of the job for them to exercise further responsibility, in other cases the employers had deliberately refrained from giving them extra responsibility because they did not think they could carry it. As one employer put it, "He is a good worker but I doubt if he could hold a responsible job, his reactions are too slow," and another, "He works well on his own work, not capable of taking on more."

The only boy who had supervised others was working as a brick press attendant. He had been temporarily in charge of three other workers and had supervised well. He had also responded well when assisting the foreman to train others. (This boy has such poor eyesight that he is registered as a blind person.) 1 girl who operated simple machines in a

firm making plastic bags and covers had successfully supervised two other workers. However, a girl doing domestic work in an Old People's Home had been very timid and hesitant when given a chance to supervise others and although she had had an opportunity to exercise responsibility, the matron had decided that she was "not capable meantime."

Only 2 further instances of exercise of responsibility were mentioned. 1 boy, a farm labourer, had been in charge of the pig enterprise for the weekend and had appeared to enjoy it. As the size and type of pig enterprise was not stated, it is difficult to judge how much responsibility was involved. 1 employer, a window cleaner, quoted as an exercise of responsibility the fact that the boy nearly always remembered without being told, exactly which part of the work was due although most of the work was on a two, three or four weekly basis.

Incentives

It would be difficult to draw from these replies any conclusions about the response of mentally handicapped young people to incentives, because the number of firms operating incentive schemes, at least at this level of work, was small.

Incentives in the form of extra money were offered to six of the girls. 3 were on piece-work and this was said to have had a marked effect, for instance "Once she was capable of earning a wage on piecework, her output increased quite significantly." 1 girl was able to earn extra money if she could complete a job in less than the allotted time and she too responded, "It encourages her to step up her output and

keep up with the other workers." However, in one firm where an unspecified monetary incentive scheme operated, it did not appear to have any effect on the work of the mentally handicapped girl employed there. Another girl was said not to respond to an incentive scheme which was described as "merit increases for length of service." This description does not make the nature of the scheme clear and it may be that the girl herself had some difficulty in understanding it.

Of the boys 3 were reported to respond to incentive schemes. In one case the scheme was not specified, in one it consisted of a bonus based on section production and in the third it was described thus, "a fixed rate is paid per 100 skins spread out on pallets. Incentive rate alternates with basic jobbing rate." The lad was said to respond because he "works well with other men and is keen to earn money" but "he does not seem to understand how scheme works." 3 boys did not respond to the monetary incentive offered by their firms. In one case the incentive was a bonus based on section production, in another a bonus for a full week's work without absence or lateness and in the third an increase in wages for improved performance.

Training

In no case did an employer report any basic alteration in training methods for the benefit of the mentally handicapped young person. One mentioned "increased supervision", another "constant repetition of instructions" and five referred to such things as "a bit more time and patience" or "allowances

made for slowness". Otherwise, all the young people were trained by the same methods as other trainees.

Of the girls 9 had had somebody particularly sympathetic put in charge of training them, 7 had not. Someone particularly sympathetic was put in charge of training 10 of the boys while 12 were not given special treatment in this respect and 1 was reported to have been trained by "the manager" with no indication given as to whether he was particularly sympathetic towards the boy. In some cases the young people did not receive special treatment because they responded so well that no allowances were thought to be necessary or because the person in charge was not fully aware of their handicap. In one case the employer's reply to the question was, "No, does not respond well to sympathy."

In the reports on 3 of the girls their speed of learning the job was said to have been above average or to compare favourably with that of other trainees. 3 girls were reported to have learnt their work at about average speed, 4 had been slightly slower than most trainees and 5 were described as slow in learning.

There were 5 boys who were recorded as having compared favourably with others in training or to have learnt their work more quickly than most trainees for the job. One employer commented, "He took to the job as quickly as anyone I have ever known, mainly because I think he wanted to make a success of it." Another said, "He is very fast at learning his job. I would think faster than the majority of lads of his age." 4 boys had been about average in their speed of

learning, 4 had been slightly slower than most trainees and 8 had been more markedly slow. Some comments on the slower ones were, "Slower than average due to non-retentive memory" and "Slow in picking up this job. There is not much push about him. Other boys have picked it up quicker than he."

Of the 8 mentally handicapped young people who had learned their work faster than most trainees for their jobs, only one had been trained by someone selected as being "particularly sympathetic". Changes in training methods had not been made for the benefit of any of these young people.

Of the 3 girls who had learned the job faster than most trainees, 1 was still working at above average speed and 1 was described as being as quick as any of the others and one of the best at the job. The working speed of the third could not be compared as there were no other workers engaged on the same operation but she was said to be one of the best girls the firm had had at her job. Of the 3 girls who had taken about average length of time to learn, 1 could now hold her own with other workers, 1 was described as reasonably fast on repetitive jobs but inclined to slow down when thought was involved and 1 was generally average but a bit slower on one of the operations she had to perform. 2 of the 4 girls who were slightly slower in training now performed their jobs at average speeds. 2 were still a little slower but their standards were good. Of the 5 girls who had been markedly slower than average in learning, 4 were still slower in

the actual performance of their jobs but 1 girl who was estimated to have taken three times longer than average to train now worked at average speed.

Of the 5 boys whose speed of learning their jobs was above average, 3 were still above average in their working speeds. A fourth was reported to work as quickly as the firm's owner and the only other employee and the working speed of the fifth was said to be "Good considering his poor eyesight." Of the 4 boys who had taken about average time to train, 2 now compared favourably with other employees in working speed, 1 was still about equal with others in speed and 1 compared reasonably well except when initiative was called for. In the case of the 4 boys who were slightly slower in training, 1 now worked at a speed comparable with that of other employees, 1 was still slightly slower but a "good worker" and 2 were still slower but so much steadier than most workers that their output was higher than average. Of the 8 boys who had been slow in learning, 4 were still slow workers, 1 was slow at some parts of his job though comparable with other workers at other parts and 1 produced 50% less output because he rushed at the work and made mistakes. The seventh boy now had an output rate comparable with that of other workers but needed more supervision because he had difficulty in remembering instructions. The eighth did jobs quite quickly and his output was comparable with that of others although he was still slow at "picking up what he is meant to do."

Tendency to Accidents

None of the young people was reported to have caused any accident that involved other people.

Of the girls, 1 had suffered a few minor cuts, common in the type of work she was doing, 1 had been absent three days, having bruised her hip on some cribs and 1 had dropped a bobbin on her foot and been off work for ten days. 1 of the boys had also suffered a few cuts but as his employer, a butcher, remarked "this is in our trade unavoidable as we have to work with fairly sharp knives" and added "He works a great deal with mincers, sausage machines etc. but is very careful when working with such machines." 1 boy had bumped his arm on a metal chute and 1 had had a week off two years earlier after hurting his back when carrying a pallet. The only accident of any seriousness reported was described thus, "He had an accident when unloading his truck. He was told to make two journeys between the two works but he thought he could put all the Sliver Cans on his truck at one time and when he was unloading the Sliver Cans one of the cans slipped and caught his hand and fractured two fingers."

Health

The sickness record of 1 girl was not known. (Although she is an epileptic there was no indication that her health record at work was a poor one.)

Of the other 15 girls, 5 had no reported absences through sickness at all. 5 had had sick leave of one week or less. (This is the total time, not a consecutive period.) 1 of these 5 girls had been in her job for over two years,

3 between one and two years and 1 for six months. 4 girls had been absent through sickness for a total of between one and five weeks. All these 4 girls had been in their jobs for between one and two years. 1 girl with a history of tuberculosis who had been in her job for seven months had had several periods of absence, the length of which was not specified. On one occasion she had genuinely been ill but on others it was suspected that her widowed mother, who did not give her much support in her work, had wanted her help at home.

Of the 23 boys 16 had no reported absences through sickness. 4 boys had each had absences amounting to one week or less. 1 of these had been in his job for over two years, 2 had been in their jobs between one and two years, 1 had had his job for five months. 2 boys, both of whom had been in their jobs for over two years, had each been absent for a total of between one and three weeks. The worst sickness record was that of a boy who in one year had had six separate but complete weeks of absence and eight odd days. This boy is quite big and strong in appearance although he does suffer from total nerve deafness in one ear and has a squint.

In considering the accident and sickness record of these young people, one should note that the group included a number who had serious disabilities other than their mental handicap or who had suffered serious illnesses in childhood. Among the girls, reference has already been made to 1 who was an epileptic and 1 with a history of tuberculosis. Of those

who had been absent from work a week or less, 1 had had fairly severe jaundice in childhood and 1, who had been a premature baby weighing 4lb 5oz., had spent some months in hospital during infancy with pneumonia followed by gastro-enteritis. 1 girl was described in the medical records as "moderately severely deaf." She had had ten days' absence from work after a minor accident. (However, the group under discussion i.e. those mentally handicapped young people who were in open employment, does not include most of the girls in the study who had serious physical disabilities in addition to their mental handicap because most of these girls had never been placed in jobs.) 3 of the boys in employment had extremely poor sight, including 1 who was registered as a blind person, 1 who was an albino and 1 who had had an operation for cataract removal and also wore an aid which could only partially correct his defective hearing. 1 of these 3 boys had had a week's sick leave two years before, after hurting his back, but otherwise none of them had caused an accident nor had time off for illness. Other boys who had never been off work included 1 who had injured an eye socket and tear duct in childhood, 1 who had had operations on his nose and suffered from sinusitis, 1 who had been in hospital with suspected tuberculosis of the bowel and 1 who had quite a serious hearing loss and had had pneumonia in childhood. Of the boys who had had a few odd days amounting to no more than a week off work, 1 had had pyloric stenosis in infancy and had worn calipers for part of his childhood and another who was slightly deaf had had pneumonia as a child and was

stigmatised by a deformity of the skull.

Notes on the work of those attending Senior Occupation Centres

The questionnaire was designed for the assessment of the young people in open employment rather than for the assessment of those in Senior Occupation Centres. However, as all the young people in the Centres were engaged on some type of sub-assembly work, sections of the questionnaire were applicable to them and their Supervisors answered all the questions that were appropriate.

The proficiency of the young people involved in this study who were attending the Centres was compared with that of the other handicapped people alongside whom they worked. Since they were working in sheltered conditions and because their work could not be compared with that of normal workers, one cannot usefully compare their proficiency with that of the mentally handicapped young people with whom this section has been mainly concerned i.e. those in open employment.

It might, however, be of interest to note the difference in reported conscientiousness between the two groups. Of the 9 young people attending Senior Occupation Centres, 4 were said to be good timekeepers and 5 were reported to be bad timekeepers, 2 of these 5 being described as "very bad". 6 of the young people had never failed to attend the Centre without good cause such as sickness or emergency but 1 occasionally failed to turn up and 2 frequently took days off. 7 of the young people were reported to need constant supervision, only 2 would work steadily when not being supervised. Obviously, the difference in the degree of conscientiousness shown by the

two groups of young people can be explained to a considerable extent by the fact that those attending the Occupation Centres are not under the same obligation to attend as an employee is to report for work nor are they likely to lose their places at the Centre as young people in employment might lose their jobs for lateness or absenteeism. Nevertheless, it is possible that this is not the full explanation and that in some cases lack of conscientiousness and inability to work without supervision had, or would have, prevented these young people from succeeding in open employment.

Most of the young people attending the Centres got on well with their companions there. 1 girl and 1 boy, both of whom experienced problems of communication, had some difficulty in their relationships. The girl was deaf and had associated speech difficulties, the boy was extremely immature in appearance and conversation. All the others were said to get on well, although 1 boy was described as having "a great deal of nonsense." This boy also had occasional trouble in his relations with supervisors as he did "not like discipline". 1 boy was said to get on well with supervisors "but under discipline". The other young people all had good relations with their supervisors.

The flexibility of the young people attending the Centres cannot be compared with that of the young people in open employment since none of the former had had experience of variations in hours or conditions. 7 of them had performed more than one type of sub-assembly work with reasonable success. 1 girl had always performed the same operation and 1 boy was described

as "slow in adapting himself to new work."

All the young people attending Senior Occupation Centres had of course been trained by instructors with a special interest in, and experience of, training mentally handicapped workers and the methods used to train them were those customarily used for the instruction of mentally handicapped trainees. Their speed of learning was not therefore compared with that of young people in open employment.

A girl who had not been at the Centre long was not earning any money above the five shillings paid weekly to all who attend. Otherwise, all the young people were eligible for a small weekly incentive bonus, up to about ten shillings or twelve shillings and six pence, plus a bonus of five pounds three times a year. In only 1 case was this incentive reported to have had any marked effect on the young person's industriousness and output. The other 7 were said not to respond.

Of the young people attending Senior Occupation Centres 5 were reported to have had no absences for sickness or to have a generally good health record. The record of 1 boy was described as "reasonably good" and another boy was "very seldom off". The only specified amount of absence was that of a boy who had had a total of ten days, mostly for colds. 1 boy was said to be periodically absent with little evidence of illness. This health record is surprisingly good when one considers how many of these young people were physically disabled. Of the 5 girls, 1 suffered from cerebral palsy and was confined to a wheelchair, 1 suffered from epilepsy, 1 was

described as having "severe congenital bilateral club feet" and 1, who had had tuberculous meningitis at the age of four, was still very deaf although she wore an aid. Of the 4 boys, 1 was physically underdeveloped and had a deformity of one foot, 1 was a dwarf and 1 suffered from spastic paralysis and had had several operations on his legs in the year before leaving school. It may well be that the apparent lack of conscientiousness among those attending Senior Occupation Centres is associated with the higher proportion of serious physical disabilities in this group.

v) Overall employment adjustment

When all the employment data had been collected, each young person was given a rating on a scale which represented his overall employment adjustment. This scale ran from one, which indicated the most successful adjustment, to nine, which indicated the poorest. The young person's rating was determined mainly by his position in a table showing total length of time in exployment x number of jobs held (Table 4.1) but this was modified by the job performance rating given him by Youth Employment Officers on the basis of reports from his employer or Occupation Centre supervisor. The following examples illustrate how this was done. Of the 15 young people placed in the top right-hand section of the table because they had worked for over a hundred weeks in one job, 4 were given overall employment adjustment ratings of 1. These 4 had all had excellent reports from their employers on the basis of which they had been given average job

performance ratings of between 1 and 2. A further 8 of the 15 were given overall employment ratings of 2 because their job performance ratings fell between 2·1 and 3. Despite the length of time they had spent in their jobs, 3 of the 15 were rated 3 on the overall employment adjustment scale because their performance ratings were between 3·1 and 4. At the other end of the table, of the 12 young people who had had no employment at all, 9 were given overall employment adjustment ratings of 9 but 3 were rated at 8·5 on the overall scale because their performances on sub-assembly work in Occupation Centres was praised by their supervisors and rated higher than 2 by the Youth Employment Officers. (The use of 0·5 is discussed later in this section.)

After the young people had been given their places on the overall employment adjustment scale, the relations among the employment variables were analysed. The correlation between length of time in employment and the overall employment adjustment rating was 0·96 N=66. (The exclusion of 4 of the 70 young people is explained later in this section.) The correlation between Youth Employment Officer's rating of job performance and overall employment adjustment rating was 0·65 N=37. The correlation between number of jobs held and the overall employment adjustment rating was 0·12 N=66. This last correlation was expected to be small since no jobs at all and too many jobs both had the effect of lowering the young person's score on the overall rating.

The two money variables (starting wage and average weekly earnings at 18) were so little related to the other employment variables that it did not seem appropriate to attempt to modify a subject's rating on the overall scale by reference to his earnings. Had it been possible to calculate each subject's total earnings throughout the two-year period, this could have been taken into consideration as an aspect of overall adjustment, but the writer did not feel that it was possible to do this without serious intrusion upon the subjects' privacy. Her records therefore show only the subject's average weekly earnings at each check by the Youth Employment Officer and from these figures the two variables, starting wage and earnings at 18, were extracted for examination. The highest correlation that was found between either of them and any of the other employment variables was that of 0·42 N=38, between earnings at 18 and number of jobs held. This tends to support the observation that the highest weekly earnings were generally attained by those who changed jobs frequently, but as these young people also had to suffer loss of earnings during the periods between jobs and were in some cases unlikely to remain in the higher paid jobs for long, their earnings at this particular point in time could hardly be regarded as an indicator of successful employment adjustment. Although earnings were therefore not taken into account when determining the young person's overall employment adjustment rating, they are of general interest and the information collected on this topic is discussed in sub-section Axi of this chapter.

When the variables were analysed, the mean score of the subjects on the overall employment adjustment scale was found to be 5·00 SD 2·96. This mean was not an artefact. The young people were allotted their places on the scale according to their scores on other employment variables, as described. The fact that the mean score on the overall scale was at its half-way point was revealed in the subsequent analysis.

Four young people were not given scores on the overall employment adjustment variable, although they are included in the figures given in Table 4.1. These 4 consisted of 1 girl who left work to look after the family when her mother was dying, 2 girls who married within a year of leaving school and had babies and 1 boy who died before the end of the follow-up period. (Other girls married later but remained in their jobs and a girl who had an illegitimate child continued to seek employment while her mother looked after the baby, so these subjects were given overall employment adjustment ratings.)

The number of young people rated at each point on the overall scale is shown in Table 4.7.

The use of 0·5 was introduced only in cases where there was some unusual circumstance and allocation to the point above or below would have been unfair. For instance, it was used in the case of a girl who undertook a recognised course of training for domestic service after leaving school. This shortened her time in employment during the follow-up period but she could not fairly be said to have been

Rating	Number of subjects rated at this level
1	6
1·5	-
2	12
2·5	1
3	9
3·5	1
4	7
4·5	1
5	3
5·5	-
6	1
6·5	-
7	2
7·5	1
8	4
8·5	4
9	14
Total	66

Table 4.7. Distribution of the subjects of the follow-up study on the rating scale of Overall Employment Adjustment.

unemployed while she was at the training establishment. Other young people who, because they had had no employment would have had a rating of 9 on the overall scale, were given ratings of 8·5 if, on the basis of good reports from their supervisors, the Youth Employment Officers had rated their performance on sub-assembly work in the Occupation Centre above a certain level.

Table 4.30 in Chapter 4Bviii shows the correlations between scores on the overall employment adjustment scale and scores on the predictive variables.

vi) Analysis of employment data on previous models

The author preferred to use a rating scale of employment adjustment, as described in the previous section, rather than assign each subject to a category of success or failure as some researchers have done. The employment data collected in the course of this study was sufficiently detailed and precise to provide a considerable degree of discrimination and much of its value would have been lost if the results had been reduced to a success/failure dichotomy. Even if additional categories, such as "partial success" or "borderline", are added, this type of categorisation still seems too rigid and less appropriate to the concept of adjustment than a rating scale.

Jackson (1968) has argued a good case for the use of the term employment adjustment rather than employment success. In discussing his own work he writes, "Care was taken to avoid describing the condition of employment adjustment as

occupational or employment success, despite the strong precedent provided by earlier British studies (O'Connor, 1953; Collman and Newlyn, 1956; Robertson, 1958; Collins and Speake, 1959). Discussion of appropriate terminology is, however, more than a semantic exercise, for the distinction between employment success and adjustment is a real one and has led to misinterpretation. Whereas success is usually interpreted as the accomplishment or attainment of an end, thus having a static and absolute value immutable once achieved, adjustment suggests a response to the dynamic processes involved in adaptation, a response which may vary both with time and changing conditions.

In view of the fact that adjustment is a continuing process, an assessment at any particular period can only reflect adjustment at that time. The arbitrary decision to assess adjustment after only a limited period of time has elapsed since school leaving, ignores the possibility that at a later period, factors adversely affecting adjustment may occur that may significantly alter the original assessment (e.g. the removal of parental support on a subject's attainment of adulthood, the eventual withdrawal of supervision by an overburdened after-care service etc.)."

Evidence obtained in the present study supports Jackson's suggestion that adjustment may be considerably affected by factors that occur after an assessment has been made two or three years after school-leaving. However, the effect may not always be adverse. For instance, one girl

who had had no employment at all during the two-year follow-up period took up a job shortly after the period ended and was still employed in it when interviewed nine months later. Another girl who at the end of the two-year employment follow-up period had been unemployed for seventeen months took up work again and was still in her job sixteen months later. A number of young people whose first placements were delayed and who had therefore had a comparatively short time in employment when the standard follow-up ended had apparently settled well and obtained quite high ratings for job performance.

When analysing his employment data, Jackson used the the criteria shown in Table 4.8. He was carrying out a retrospective study involving a much larger number of subjects than those involved in this part of the present study. He could not therefore be expected to have such detailed information about the employment record of each case. Therefore, although he used six levels of adjustment, the writer felt that to analyse her data on Jackson's model only might result in the loss of some of the value of the information she had obtained. For instance, in an analysis on the basis of Table 4.9, which is the two-year equivalent of Jackson's model, a boy who had worked for only twenty-four days and had been unemployed for nearly fifteen months when the follow-up period ended would be allocated to the same level as another boy who had been placed late and had had one change of job but who had nevertheless worked a total of sixty-eight weeks by the end of the follow-up period and had

Criterion I Number of Jobs	Criterion II Months Unemployed
A $\leq$ 3	A $\leq$ 3·0
B 4-6	B $>$ 3·0 $\leq$ 6·0
C 7-9	C $>$ 6·0 $\leq$ 9·0
D 10-12	D $>$ 9·0 $\leq$ 12·0
E $>$ 12	E $>$ 12·0

Level of Adjustment		Criterion I					
Description	Level						
Adjusted	0	AA	BA	CA	DA	EA	Criterion II
	1	AB	BB	CB	DB	EB	
Borderline	2	AC	BC	CC	DC	EC	
	3	AD	BD	CD	DD	ED	
Non-adjusted	4	AE	BE	CE	DE	EE	
	5	unemployable					

Table 4.8. Criteria of employment adjustment adopted by Jackson, R.N. (1968) in a three year follow-up of mentally handicapped ex-pupils.

been rated 1·89 for job performance on the basis of a good report from his employer. Both would have been assigned to level 4, the non-adjusted category.

Nevertheless, for the purpose of comparison, the employment data collected in the present study were analysed on Jackson's model in addition to the use of the overall employment adjustment scale described in the previous sub-section.

	Criterion 1		Criterion 2
	Number of Jobs		Weeks Employed
A	≤ 2	A	95+
B	3-4	B	87-94·86
C	5-6	C	78-86·86
D	7-8	D	69-77·86
E	> 8	E	< 69

Table 4.9. Modification of Jackson's criteria of employment adjustment to enable his model for a three year follow-up (Table 4.8) to be used in analysing data from the present two year follow-up study.

Table 4.9 shows the adaptation of Jackson's criteria for a three-year follow-up to criteria for a two-year period. It must be emphasised that this comparison was made for general interest only. It cannot be asserted that the two tables are strictly comparable. It is, for instance, doubtful whether having three or four jobs in two years is really equivalent to having four to six jobs in three years. Also one must take into account the employment situation. Job-changing in Edinburgh, where Jackson's study was

undertaken, was probably more frequent and more acceptable than in the area in which the present study was undertaken.

Using Jackson's model, the results of the present study would be as shown in Table 10a, if one includes all 70 young people whose employment records are shown in Table 4.1. If one excludes the 4 young people who were not rated on the overall employment adjustment scale because they died or left employment to take full responsibility for running a home, the results would be as shown in Table 4.10b.

Jackson's own results are shown in Table 4.11. Jackson regarded the overall percentage of non-adjusted subjects in his own study as "unquestionably high". It will be seen, however, that in the present study the percentage was even higher.

The correlation between the position of the subjects of this study on the author's own scale of overall employment adjustment and their level on Jackson's model was 0·92. The correlation between their length of time in employment and their level on Jackson's model was 0·94.

Table 4.12 shows the relations between the predictive variables and score on the overall employment adjustment scale as compared with the relations between the predictive variables and level on Jackson's model. It will be seen that the pattern of relationships is very similar but that (with one minor exception) the correlations with the overall employment adjustment scale are consistently higher, apart from those cases where the finding is contrary to expectation (cf. Chapter 3v).

	Level	Male N=33		Female N=37		Combined N=70	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Adjusted	0	11	33·3	10	27·0	21	30·0
	1	5	15·2	5	13·5	10	14·3
Borderline	2	2	6·1	1	2·7	3	4·3
	3	5	15·2	2	5·4	7	10·0
Non-adjusted	4	8	24·2	9	24·3	17	24·3
	5	2	6·1	10	27·0	12	17·1
Total		33	100·1	37	99·9	70	100·0

Table 4.10a. Employment adjustment of the subjects of the present follow-up study, analysed on a model adapted from that used by Jackson, R.N. (1968).

	Level	Male N=32		Female N=34		Combined N=66	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Adjusted	0	11	34·4	10	29·4	21	31·8
	1	5	15·6	5	14·7	10	15·2
Borderline	2	2	6·3	1	2·9	3	4·6
	3	5	15·6	2	5·9	7	10·6
Non-adjusted	4	7	21·9	6	17·6	13	19·7
	5	2	6·3	10	29·4	12	18·2
Total		32	100·1	34	99·9	66	100·1

Table 4.10b. Employment adjustment of the subjects of the present follow-up study, analysed as in Table 4.10a, but excluding those with no score on the overall employment adjustment scale.

	Level	Male N=105		Female N=83		Combined N=188	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Adjusted	0	30	28·57	35	42·17	65	34·58
	1	25	23·81	13	15·66	38	20·21
Borderline	2	11	10·48	7	8·43	18	9·57
	3	6	5·71	1	1·21	7	3·72
Non-adjusted	4	15	14·29	14	16·87	29	15·43
	5	18	17·14	13	15·66	31	16·49
Total		105	100·00	83	100·00	188	100·00

Table 4.11. Employment adjustment of the subjects of a three year follow-up study conducted and analysed by Jackson, R.N. (1968).

	Correlation with subjects' ratings on overall employment adjustment scale	Correlation with same subjects' level of employment adjustment on Jackson's model	N
Recorded I.Q.	0·29	0·28	66
Reading			
taken at 15	0·05	0·06	40
taken at 16	0·14	0·11	60
Arithmetic			
taken at 15	0·48	0·41	40
taken at 16	0·38	0·34	60
Progressive Matrices			
taken at 15	0·39	0·31	40
taken at 16	0·38	0·26	60
Vocabulary			
taken at 15	0·19	0·16	40
taken at 16	0·32	0·24	60
Manchester Scales			
taken at 15	0·41	0·33	40
taken at 16	0·51	0·44	59
Social Knowledge			
taken at 15	0·52	0·42	40
taken at 16	0·53	0·44	60
Teachers' Ratings			
Combined	0·56	0·47	57
Emotional Maturity	0·06	0·00	58
Reliability	0·60	0·57	57
Honesty	0·30	0·22	58
Industry	0·64	0·55	58
Perseverance	0·66	0·56	58
Physical Disabilities	0·42	0·41	66
Number of Siblings	0·13	0·23	65
Absence of Natural Parent(s)	0·26	0·26	65

Table 4.12. Relations between the subjects' scores on the predictive variables and their employment adjustment a) rated on the overall employment adjustment scale and b) assigned to a level on Jackson's model.

In studying the employment histories of 62 former pupils of the E.S.N. school of which he was Headmaster, Matthew (1964) categorised them as follows:-

a) Complete Success - Unemployed not more than 9% of the time since leaving, working for a standard wage, satisfactory report from present employer.

b) Partial Success - Unemployed 10-24% of the time since leaving.

c) Qualified Success - Unemployed not more than 9% of the time but working for a sympathetic employer or a sub-standard wage.

d) Partial Failure - Unemployed 25-49% of the time since leaving.

e) Complete Failure - Unemployed 50-100% of the time.

f) Special Group - Those who by severe subnormality or other handicap had been deemed unemployable and placed under statutory supervision by the Mental Health Authority.

Matthew's own results are shown in Table 4.13.

Category	Number of Boys	%
a. Complete Success	27	43·55
b. Partial Success	9	14·35
c. Qualified Success	8	12·90
d. Partial Failure	5	8·06
e. Complete Failure	9	14·35
f. Special Group	4	6·45
Total	62	100·00

Table 4.13. Employment adjustment of subjects of a follow-up study conducted and analysed by Matthew, G.C. (1964).

Using Matthew's criterion of percentage of time unemployed, the data collected in this present study would yield the results shown in Table 4.14. In compiling this table, the author has excluded the 4 young people who were not given overall employment adjustment ratings because they died or withdrew from employment to take full responsibility for running a home.

Category	Number of Subjects	%
a. Complete Success	26	39·4
b. Partial Success	9	13·6
c. Qualified Success	-	-
d. Partial Failure	8	12·1
e. Complete Failure	13	19·7
f. Special Group	10	15·2
Total	66	100·0

Table 4.14. Employment adjustment of subjects of the present follow-up study assigned by length of employment criterion to categories adopted by Matthew, G.C. (1964).

In Table 4.14 no young people have been assigned to category c, as none was known to be working for a sub-standard wage. Although some were working for considerate employers, it could not be said that they were uneconomic workers, kept on merely because their employers were sympathetic, except in 2 cases which did not qualify for this category on the time criterion. However, 6 of the young people placed in category a in Table 4.14 did not really qualify for it on the basis of Matthew's third criterion as their reports from their employers, while not entirely unfavourable, were not

wholly satisfactory (they were rated poorer than 3 on job performance by the Youth Employment Officers) and they might therefore be more appropriately placed in a category of qualified success. In that case the results would be as shown in Table 4.15.

Category	Number of Subjects	%
a. Complete Success	20	30·3
b. Partial Success	9	13·6
c. Qualified Success	6	9·1
d. Partial Failure	8	12·1
e. Complete Failure	13	19·7
f. Special Group	10	15·2
Total	66	100·0

Table 4.15. Employment adjustment of subjects of the present follow-up study assigned to categories adopted by Matthew (1964) by criteria of length of unemployment and level of performance.

The slight discrepancy between the percentage in category f. in Tables 4.14 and 4.15 and the percentage assigned to level 5 on the Jackson model (Table 4.10) is accounted for by the fact that in the latter analysis all those who had no employment at all were classified at level 5, whereas in the comparison with Matthew's work only those who were deemed unemployable at the time of leaving were put in category f. Changes in the law relating to statutory supervision and differences of local practice made it impossible to satisfy Matthew's criteria for category f. strictly, but it was possible to know which young people were considered unemployable at the time of leaving and would have been put under

statutory supervision had this provision continued to exist.

It will be seen that whereas in Matthew's study 70·97% of the subjects qualified for the three categories of success, when the results of the present study are analysed in the same way, only 53·03% of its subjects qualify for inclusion in these three categories. Matthew concluded that 60-70% was the proportion for whom successful employment adjustment could be claimed. He wrote of his results, "The overall picture of the employment history of the E.S.N. sample showed some 60% giving satisfaction in the occupation of their choice and merging inconspicuously into the employment world. Some 20% had less stable employment histories, were subject to more job changes and more periods of unemployment. In a less favourable economic climate it is likely that this group would be extremely vulnerable. The remaining 20% had very unsatisfactory work histories, being unemployed for more than 50% of the time since leaving school. This proportion was much higher than anticipated. On leaving school only 6·45% of the total sample were considered unlikely to compete in a competitive job market."

It must be noted that the average I.Q. of the E.S.N. subjects studies by Matthew was 70, as compared with the average I.Q. of 62 among the subjects of this present study. Also it is probable that employment in Wallasey during the period Matthew was studying was more easily obtainable than employment in the area and period of the present study.

Comparison of the data obtained in this study with the results of these previous studies carried out in Britain in the 1960s suggests that the picture presented by their findings was by no means unduly and atypically pessimistic.

vii) Characteristics of subjects with outstandingly good employment records

A rating of 1 on the overall employment adjustment scale was achieved by 4 boys and 2 girls. All these young people had been in employment for at least one hundred weeks during the two-year follow-up period and had received job performance ratings of 1-2 from the Youth Employment Officers on the basis of their employers' reports.

The 2 boys with a unanimous rating of 1(A) on job performance from the nine Youth Employment Officers both came from School C.

1. This boy left school in July 1966. He was placed in a brick works by his local Youth Employment Officer three weeks after leaving. He was employed in the same firm at the end of the two-year follow-up period, his total time in employment having been 101·14 weeks. The manager of the firm reported at this time that he was amazed that he was assessed as mentally handicapped, that he earned £13 per week on average and was well worth his pay. This subject's intelligence quotient had been assessed as 68. He was registered as a blind person because of his very defective sight, an abnormality which he shared with his father and his four siblings. His brothers and sisters were all

mentally handicapped and not working and his father had not had employment for many years. Efforts had been made when the boy was eight to obtain a place for him in a school for the blind but the Headmaster had refused to accept him because several of his siblings had attended the school and had been unable to benefit from the education it provided on account of their low intelligence. This boy, who was probably the most intelligent of the family, had undoubtedly been penalised because of his siblings' handicaps but fortunately he had been treated with understanding and encouragement by his special class teacher who appeared to appreciate his adverse circumstances and respect him for his reliability and good nature. In addition to the highest rating possible on the employment adjustment scale, he also obtained the highest rating possible on the scale of overall social adjustment from the independent assessor who had no knowledge of his school record or his employment adjustment score.

2. The other boy with a straight 1(A) rating on job performance from all nine Youth Employment Officers left school in July 1967. He had been placed by his local Youth Employment Officer as an apprentice butcher and started work four days after leaving. However, he left a fortnight later "to get a better job." The Youth Employment Officer commented that his first employer had not thought he would get far as a butcher and had probably told him so. He lost only a couple of days between jobs, however, and was still

employed in his second job, again as an apprentice butcher, at the end of the follow-up period, so his total time in employment was 103·71 weeks. This boy suffered from a deformity of bone structure which gave his face a somewhat squashed and crumpled look. This, however, did not appear to interfere with his social life. The independent assessor gave him the highest rating not only on the scale for overall social adjustment but on all the other social adjustment scales so that he was one of the two subjects who obtained the highest possible score on total social adjustment. The boy's father and his older married brother who lived nearby were both in employment. He had two married sisters, one living in a neighbouring town, one in England. His mother, however, died shortly before the end of the two-year follow-up period.

3. The third boy to obtain an overall employment adjustment rating of 1 had a job performance rating of 1·11. (Eight of the Youth Employment Officers had rated it A, but one had given a B rating. His employer gave him an excellent report but the job itself was relatively easy in comparison with those of the two boys previously described.) This boy left School B in July 1966. He was placed by the Youth Employment Officer and took up work as a window cleaner ten days after leaving school. It was a small firm, the owner himself cleaned windows and employed two or three workers. The lad was still in the same employment when the follow-up period ended so his total time employed was 103·14 weeks. His I.Q. had been assessed as 65, although in conversation and on his

test results he appeared duller than the two boys previously described. His mother had died when he was eight years old, his father had remarried five years later and the boy, a quiet lad, was reported to get on well with his step-mother. He had three married sisters and by the end of the study had four step-siblings, three of which were born after he left school.

4. The fourth boy to obtain a rating of 1 on the overall employment adjustment scale had an average rating of 2 from Youth Employment Officers on the report of his job performance. Like the first two boys discussed in this section, he had attended School C. He left school in July 1966 and started work at the beginning of the following week in a timber firm. He was still there at the end of the follow-up period so his total time in employment was 104·14 weeks. His I.Q. was assessed as 61. He was undersized and, although the speech defect from which he had suffered had improved by the time he left school, his speech was by no means clear. This boy was the sixth of seven children. He was brought up in a farm cottage in conditions of overcrowding, poverty and squalor. When he first attended school at the age of five he was scarcely socialised at all. A report made when he was five and a half said that he was poorly clad, looked undernourished and had no capacity for play. He had no speech but grunts, howled every time the teacher approached his desk and was persistently soiling and wetting. His father deserted the family during his childhood. Some years later his parents were divorced and his mother

remarried after he had left school. During the follow-up period the subject lived for a short time with his father and brother in a country town but later returned to the cottage to live with his mother and her second husband and some of his siblings. Despite his background difficulties he was a boy of cheerful disposition who was well-liked at his special class.

Two girls obtained a score of 1 on the overall employment adjustment scale, as they had had over one hundred weeks in employment and had job performance ratings of 1·67. (None of the girls had obtained a unanimous A rating from the Youth Employment Officers. One other girl had a job performance rating of 1·67 but as she had had seven jobs and her total time in employment was less than 75 weeks, her overall employment adjustment rating was much lower.)

5. This girl left School D in February 1967. She had been placed by the Youth Employment Officer in a textile factory and started work ten days after leaving. She was still there at the end of the follow-up period so her total time in employment was 103·14 weeks. Her I.Q. had been assessed as 64. She had been removed from her natural mother when she was five years old and placed with one of her sisters in a foster home. The mother was not living with her husband and the girl's father was unknown. She had eight siblings in addition to a sister who was placed in the same foster home but she had little or no contact with them.

The mother and five of the siblings were known to be of low intelligence, two being severely subnormal. In her foster home the subject was apparently well cared for and treated with affection, and she was deeply grieved by the death of her foster father a year before she left school. However, a middle-aged lodger, whom the girls called uncle, had lived in the house for many years and after the foster-father's death, he acted as something of a father figure towards them. The girl herself was pleasant in manner and attractive in appearance, showing no outward signs of mental handicap.

6. The other girl with an overall employment adjustment rating of 1 had attended School E and left in February 1967. At the beginning of the week after she left school she started work as a trainee weaver in a textile factory, a job in which the Youth Employment Officer had placed her. She remained in this job for nearly fourteen months but then left to look after her mother who was ill. Twelve days later she took up work, again placed by the Youth Employment Officer as a trainee machinist in another factory where conditions were poorer. Three and a half months later, when the workers at the factory came out on strike, she voluntarily handed in her notice and returned to her first place of employment. She was still employed there at the end of the follow-up period, her total time in employment having been 102·29 weeks. This girl's I.Q. was assessed as 64. She had two brothers, both working, one a year older, one a year younger than herself.

Her father was a factory worker, her mother appeared somewhat limited in intelligence and the home, although fairly clean, was poorly furnished and drab. The subject was reported to be better able to manage the household than her mother. This girl had been highly praised by her teachers. When she left school the head of the department had described her as "by far the best special class girl I have taught." Like the girl previously described she had a pleasant appearance and manner. The author was surprised that she did not receive a particularly high rating on the overall social adjustment scale, but on reflection realised that the independent assessor had sensed in her a certain depression which had not been apparent when she was at school but which the author had also noticed when she had met the girl at a club for former pupils. During the follow-up period she had broken off her engagement to a twenty-two year old joiner but by the time the final interviews took place she had resumed the friendship.

Table 4.16 shows the scores of the young people described in this section on the tests which they took shortly before leaving school. On all the tests their mean score was higher than the mean score for the research group as a whole, except for reading where it was virtually the same. Five of them scored considerably above average on both the Manchester Scales and the Social Knowledge test. Two scored comparatively highly on the Matrices and one of these also had a much above average Vocabulary score. However, another who had a comparatively high Vocabulary score scored below average for the research group on the Matrices.

	I.Q.	Reading Age	Arith. Age	Matrices	Vocab.	Manchester	Soc. Know.
1	68	10·1	9·33	25	25	76	31·75
2	62	7·2	9·67	32	30	85	32·00
3	65	6·2	8·58	26	19	62	29·00
4	61	8·0	9·33	28	15	56	21·50
5	64	7·6	9·50	20	30	73	31·50
6	64	9·6	10·67	31	22	80	29·75
Mean	64·00	8·12	9·51	27·00	23·50	72·00	29·25
Mean of all who took tests at 16.	62·29	8·09	8·35	22·50	19·53	63·74	23·78

Table 4.16. Scores on the pre-leaving tests of subjects who subsequently did particularly well in employment.

viii) Characteristics of subjects who were never employed

There were 12 young people who had no employment during the two years after leaving school. In 9 cases no attempt was made to place these young people in employment and in 1 other case no attempt was made until a considerable time after the leaving date. In some cases parents had decided even before seeing the Youth Employment Officer that they did not wish their child to seek employment. In 3, perhaps 4, cases the decision about the young persons unsuitability for employment and the suggestion that attendance at a Senior Occupation Centre might be more appropriate was put to the parents by the Youth Employment Officer.

The parents of one boy had decided quite realistically that they wanted their son to go to the Occupation Centre. This boy had been transferred to the special classes from a Junior Occupation Centre at the age of ten, he was undersized and had a crippled foot. His I.Q. had been assessed as 51, he had very few attainments and was extremely childish in conversation. The other boy who was never employed had been disabled by polio and underwent operations on his legs shortly before the school leaving date. He later attended the Senior Occupation Centre.

Of the girls who were never employed 2 were epileptic, 1 was a spastic and confined to a wheelchair, 1 had had meningitis in childhood and was severely deaf, 1 had had an operation for the removal of a brain tumour, 1 was partially crippled by a deformity of the feet and 1 had poor vision, defective speech and a slight motor disability. 3 other

girls who were never employed had no recorded physical disabilities. 8 of these girls attended Senior Occupation Centres at some time during the follow-up period, although in some cases their parents were extremely reluctant to allow them to do so at first. 2 mothers continued to refuse to allow their daughters to attend a Centre throughout the period, as did 2 mothers whose daughters had no more than a couple of days in employment. They gave as their reason the fact that they did not wish their daughters to mix with people more subnormal than themselves, that they might pick up bad habits or that they were not strong enough. There was some suggestion from teachers and Youth Employment Officers that such mothers were over-protective. While this criticism may to some extent be justified and there was no doubt an element of snobbishness in some refusals, it is nevertheless understandable that parents of severely handicapped girls should tend to be anxious and protective towards them, especially if they are physically as well as mentally disabled.

The test results of those who were never employed are shown in Table 4.17.

ix) Characteristics of subjects who changed jobs frequently

It was recognised that a certain amount of job-changing might indicate initiative, self-confidence and healthy ambition or a realistic acceptance of the fact that a job was unsuitable. There were, however, 3 boys and 1 girl whose job changes were so frequent as to be a cause of concern to Youth Employment Officers and an indication of instability, 1 other boy whose

Subject	I.Q.	Reading Age	Arithmetic Age	Progressive Matrices	Vocabulary	Manchester Scales	Social Knowledge
1	51	5·1	6·00	20	13	35	10·00
2	57	7·9	6·17	19	15	50	17·50
3	56	8·5	8·58	15	16	52	15·25
4	60	11·3	8·08	28	20	65	26·25
5	62	6·0	6·58	15	14	17	17·25
6	63	8·2	9·67	28	20	55	29·00
7	49	8·8	6·33	21	17	52	9·75
8	52	7·8	7·50	20	15	52	21·75
9	50	8·0	6·17	19	11	49	11·50
10	43	8·3	6·75	24	8	-	8·75
11	65	5·9	7·33	26	20	46	16·50
Mean	55·27	7·80	7·19	21·36	15·36	43·00	16·68

Table 4.17. Scores on the pre-leaving tests of those subjects who had no employment during the first two years after they left school.

Note: One boy who had no employment was not tested before leaving school because he was in hospital undergoing operations on his legs.

job changes might be considered to be bordering on the unstable and 1 boy whose job changes were partly due to circumstances beyond his control but who showed signs of becoming a frequent job-changer before he was committed to an institution.

1. The girl in this group had seven jobs during the two-year follow-up period. She left her first job in a silk mill after a few days because she could not stand the noise but six weeks later took up a job in a similar factory, equally noisy and dustier. This she left after less than two months and took up a job as a trainee machinist. Her employment in this job lasted only five days as her mother told her to leave because the family was moving. She remained in her fourth job, as a bottler in a lemonade factory, for about a month before leaving because she did not like it. She was unemployed for nearly three months, then started work in a paper mill where conditions were good. However, after four days she left, saying that her mother had told her to leave because she could not afford the bus fare. A month later the Youth Employment Officer placed her in a small, new factory, manufacturing plastic shapes. Here she appeared to settle well. Her starting wage was not large but no worse than in her first three jobs and she made good progress. Her employer gave her an excellent report which earned her an average rating of 1·67 from the Youth Employment Officers on her performance in this job (no girl had a better job performance rating than 1·67). She remained in the job for a year, by which time she

was earning approximately £8 per week. Then her mother made her leave because she considered the wage too small. The Youth Employment Officer reported, "Her employer told me she was very upset and in tears when she finished at the plastics factory. She did not want to leave but her mother insisted that she did so." The girl took up a job as a bus conductress and was still in it six weeks later when the two-year employment follow-up ended. In this job she was earning the highest wage among the girls, £11.4.2. for a forty-hour week with a chance of overtime. (By the time the social adjustment assessment was carried out, however, she was again unemployed, having had other jobs meanwhile.) Unlike the 3 boys who were frequent job-changers, this girl had no record of delinquency. She had three sisters. Her father had died when she was eleven years old. The family had lived throughout her life in very poor housing conditions. She had suffered from tuberculosis, as had her mother and younger sister. Her I.Q. was officially recorded as 61 but she gave the impression of being somewhat brighter than this would suggest. Her reading age was 10·6 and she scored particularly highly, 34·75, on the test of social knowledge.

2. One of the 3 boys had five jobs in ten months (his total time in employment being 17·86 weeks) after which he was recommended for a vacancy at the Senior Occupation Centre and attended there for the remainder of the follow-up period. Four of his jobs each lasted only a few days. He held his second job, in H.M. Dockyard, for three months but was paid off for making mistakes and in particular for switching off

a machine when not instructed to do so. He left two labouring jobs because he did not like the work or the men, he gave up a gardening job because his step-mother could not bear the smell of his clothes when he had been dung-spreading and he was paid off from his last job for unsatisfactory behaviour. At the Occupation Centre his behaviour was reported to require supervision but his work was good and his intelligence obviously superior to that of most attenders. His I.Q. had been assessed as 62. Deserted by his mother in infancy, he had also been rejected by his step-mother who apparently found his presence in the home intolerable and who felt it necessary to lock doors in the house against him. His step-brother, a year younger than himself, had been taken into the father's business on leaving school, but he had not. He had a record of petty pilfering and at the age of sixteen had made a court appearance and been put on Probation for theft of a bicycle. His case is also described in Chapter 4Bi and 4Bvii3.

3. Another boy had seven jobs in twenty-two months and was out of work when the follow-up period ended. He stayed in his first job for over seven months and in his second for five and a half but after that the changes became more frequent and the intervals between jobs became longer. However, he was in work at the time when employers were asked to complete questionnaires and on the basis of his employer's reply the Youth Employment Officers gave him an average rating of 2·89 on his performance in that particular job. This boy's I.Q. was assessed as 76. He had a history of disturbed behaviour.

His step-father, who was many years older than his mother, had apparently made life in the household very difficult and the boy's four siblings, all older than himself, had left home at the earliest opportunity. His mother and one of his sisters who had attempted suicide had both received psychiatric treatment and the boy himself had spent a period in a psychiatric unit. He had also been put on Probation for theft at the age of ten. Before the end of the follow-up period, however, the step-father left and the tensions in the home were reported to have eased considerably. This subject's case is discussed further in Chapter 4Bvii4.

4. The third boy in this group had eight jobs. Seven of these were held in the first fifteen months after he left school. Most lasted only a few weeks; the longest, his fourth, lasted for six months but the wages were very poor. Three weeks after leaving his seventh job he was sent to a Detention Centre. After leaving the Centre he worked in a job for three months but was then paid off for insolence and refusal to obey instructions. He was submitted by the local office of the Department of Employment and Productivity to the National Coal Board but before he could take up employment he was again remanded in custody. Just under two years after leaving school he was sent for Borstal training. His total time in employment had been 71·29 weeks. His I.Q. had been assessed as 65. This boy came from a family of five brothers all of whom had been in trouble with the police at some time. He had a record of delinquency dating from early childhood. Both his parents were living at home. It is

perhaps noteworthy that this boy had the highest arithmetic attainment of any of the subjects of this study. Shortly before leaving school he obtained a score of 48 on the Staffordshire test, an arithmetic age of 15 years. Further details of his case are discussed in Chapter 4Bvii1.

5. One boy who might be considered to be on the borderline of this group had five jobs in the two-year follow-up period. He seemed to settle well in his first job as a farm labourer and stayed for nearly eleven months before having a row with his employer. Then began a series of job changes, four days in his second job, just under two months in his third and two days in his fourth. However, he settled down again in his fifth job as a demolition labourer and was still there when the follow-up ended approximately seven months later. He was at that time earning the biggest wage amongst the boys, £14.17.0 per week. At the time of the job performance assessment he was working as a farm labourer. The Youth Employment Officers gave him an average rating of 3·67 on the basis of his employer's replies. This boy's I.Q. was assessed as 63. Although physically strong, he appeared in conversation to be very dull and his attainments were extremely poor. Unlike the three boys previously described in this section, he himself had no record of delinquency but his elder brother had served a term on Probation for theft. The home was a farm cottage variously described by social workers as poor, dirty and "rough and ready".

6. Another boy had four jobs in nine months after which he was taken to Court for theft and committed to a Mental Deficiency Hospital. Two of his job changes were due to circumstances outside his control at the factory where he worked and his inclusion in this section might therefore appear to be unjustified, but there are certain other associations with this group of subjects which suggest to the writer that his work record might have followed a similar pattern to theirs had he continued to seek employment. He was tested by the author a year before he was due to leave his special class, but shortly afterwards he was committed to an Approved School, having been found guilty of theft. This was not his first offence. He had spent three years of his childhood in a mental deficiency institution to which he had been sent after his second conviction for theft. After leaving Approved School, he worked for three months in his first job and then left because he did not like it. He then took a job in an old and dirty firelighter factory where a number of subjects found employment at some time. When he had been there for three and a half months the factory was burned down. This boy was reported to have saved a companion from injury in the fire and his photograph appeared in the local paper. As he had not obtained alternative employment meanwhile, he returned to the factory when it reopened three and a half weeks later but the business was wound up less than a month afterwards. After a month's unemployment he took up his next job but left three months later. He was then prosecuted

and sent to a Mental Deficiency Hospital. Just over a year later he was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Carstairs. An illegitimate boy, he had spent much of his early life with his grandmother. She died when he was six and he then went to live with his mother and the man she had married. The mother claimed that her husband had accepted him and treated him as his son, but there were conflicting reports about the nature of the relationships in the home and the boy had a long record of delinquency. He was in a Mental Deficiency Hospital from the age of eleven to the age of fourteen and for much of the time was excluded from the hospital school because of his difficult behaviour. Despite this his arithmetic attainment at the age of fifteen was obove the mean for the subjects of this study, his reading age not far below the mean and his score on the Coloured Progressive Matrices was higher than that of any other subject. His case is discussed further in Chapter 4Bvii2.

With the exception of case 5, the boy described as "border-line", all the young people discussed in this section scored fairly highly on the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation and this fact is also the subject of further discussion in Chapter 4Bvii.

x. Reasons for leaving jobs

Some information was given as to why the young people left, or were dismissed from, seventy six of the jobs which they held during the two-year follow-up period. There were

a few cases of job-leaving in which no reason for leaving was given.

In thirty-eight of the seventy-six cases the young people were said to have been paid off and in the other thirty nine they were reported to have left voluntarily. This distinction can be misleading, however, and it is therefore not wise to make inferences from these figures. There are cases in which the young person has obviously been unsuitable for the job and had he not left voluntarily, the employer would have paid him off the following week, or cases in which young people who were paid off had obviously been unhappy in their jobs and would have left voluntarily in a short time. Some young people left jobs when they realised that redundancies were imminent. The explanations for leaving which are given by young people or their employers sometimes differ, and they are often partial explanations only, since frequently a combination of factors leads to the young person's dismissal or decision to leave his employment.

In five cases young people left jobs for reasons that were not connected with the nature or conditions of the employment itself. One girl left to marry and have a baby, another to move to England to be near her fiancé, whom she married two months later. One girl was required at home to look after the family when her mother went into hospital and because her mother died she did not seek employment again. Another girl left work to look after her mother when she was ill but in this case the illness was temporary, the girl

soon took up employment again and eventually returned to her first job. Another girl left her job when her parents, itinerant farm workers, moved to another county.

In nine other cases jobs were left for reasons that might be regarded as unrelated to the young person's own performance, behaviour or satisfaction with the job itself. A factory was burnt down and two of the subjects of this study who were working there at the time lost their jobs. One was re-engaged when the factory re-opened but, as the firm decided to close down shortly afterwards, he lost his job again. One boy was paid off when the farm where he worked was sold. In four cases young people were paid off from temporary or seasonal work when the task or the season was finished. In two cases girls were paid off along with others when a firm was contracting or closing down, and one girl who had been working for a firm that was running down and who had been on short time for several weeks left to seek a job with better prospects. Although in these cases the young people were not in any way responsible for the circumstances in which they lost their jobs, it might of course be argued that the fact that they were working in seasonal jobs or contracting firms was related to their relatively low employability.

Eight jobs were lost because the young people were not physically strong enough to cope with them. A boy with a heart and lung complaint took up work as a hotel porter but left after a few days as he was "not up to the work physically". He had no further employment and died suddenly

eight months later. One boy was advised by his doctor to leave his work in a firelighter factory where conditions were dirty, smelly and generally poor. Later he obtained a job in a factory where conditions were very good but after eight months the personnel officer visited his home and explained that he was being paid off because he lacked the stamina for the job. Another boy was paid off as a messenger after a couple of days as being "physically inadequate and too slow" but also because he did not know the district. A girl was dismissed after working three weeks as a resident housemaid in an old people's home because she had "fainting spells". There was no reference to fainting spells in the course of her two previous jobs, one of which lasted approximately four months, the other one year and two months, so this may have been a response to the particular work situation, although she was a pale girl who had never been robust when at school. Another girl left her job in a chicken-processing factory because she felt sick. This was apparently a common complaint among workers there and was related to the "antiseptic" smell. She returned to the job after working one morning in a super-market, where the speed of the other workers frightened her, but she left again because the smell made her feel sick. Later however, she left a biscuit-packing job because she felt sick and faint with the smell of the biscuits. This girl had spent much of her childhood in a local authority home and had been allowed to join her mother and step-father in England on leaving school. According to the Youth

Employment Officer her home conditions were very poor and her step-father was not anxious for her to work, presumably because she was useful in minding the younger children, so her employment difficulties may well have been due to pressures at home and psychological conflict, rather than physical causes.

Temporary illness caused the loss of two jobs. One boy left his second job after one week because he had a sore back, but he had also been paid off after two days in his first job because he could not cope. This boy never took up work again, and the Youth Employment Officer reported that he seemed to have no real desire for a job. He was not strong and his sight was very poor but his unemployability was probably as much due to his ineffective personality as to ill health. Another boy lost his third job as a builder's labourer, because he was off sick and the job could not be held for him, but he was a frequent job-changer who was probably not unduly worried by its loss and soon found another.

The loss of eleven jobs was attributed to some failure in the young person's relationship with his supervisors or fellow-workers or to some other aspect of his behaviour. Only one girl was paid off specifically for this reason. Her employer said that she wandered around and drove other workers mad. The girl's father, however, claimed that she was dismissed because of the introduction of Selective Employment Tax. Knowledge of the girl suggests that her performance was unlikely to have been adequate and no doubt this combination of circumstances led to her dismissal. One boy left a job after ten

days because he did not like the men. His dislike may have been justified but the fact that he was a frequent job-changer who left several other jobs suggests that he may have been at least partially to blame for the failure in relationships. One boy was dismissed after an incident at work which was said by the Youth Employment Officer to have involved indecent exposure. The employer reported: "A young man employed in a female section and difficulties arose because of this." The boy who had been employed by the firm for about eighteen months had previously been regarded as a good worker. Four boys lost jobs through arguments with their supervisors, one of them losing two jobs in this way. One of these boys was paid off from his eighth job for "insolence and refusal to do as he was asked." This boy had a record of delinquency and his delinquency continued after he left school. Another frequent job-changer lost his fifth job through a disagreement. A boy who had been in a farm labourer's job for a year had a row with the farmer and apparently both decided that the time had come for a change. One boy was dismissed for using foul language but the Youth Employment Officer reported that he had been paid off during the employer's absence on holiday by an unsympathetic manager, who used the foul language as an excuse. On his return the employer would have taken the boy back again had he not already been placed in other employment. The boy already mentioned who was twice paid off after arguments seems to have been particularly sensitive about certain aspects of his working

conditions, but he may not have been entirely without justification. In the first case after seventeen months as a labourer in a factory processing agricultural foodstuffs, he had a dispute with a foreman "because he got wet"; in the second he took exception to the poor working conditions, exposed to bad weather, in a coal yard, and an "unsympathetic foreman paid him off." This boy later took up a job in which he was earning £12 per week. He also achieved a high social adjustment rating, so although it is possible that he was an awkward employee, it is equally possible that he was reacting normally against a form of exploitation. The other two dismissals for reasons of behaviour both apply to the one boy, the boy already mentioned as having left a job because he did not like the men. In one case the reason given was just "unsatisfactory behaviour", in the other, his dismissal from H.M. Dockyard, it was "making mistakes, in particular switching off a machine."

Eleven jobs were lost for reasons which concerned the subjects' performance. The phrase "too slow" appears six times as a reason for young people being paid off, either on its own or in conjunction with other explanations such as "not learning, no progress", "physically inadequate", "didn't know the district", "couldn't understand instructions". One girl described as too slow had worked for five months in a knitwear factory. She had no further employment during the two-year follow-up period, although she did take up work again later. The other girl was described as not reaching the required speed as a machinist, her third job, but she afterwards

settled better as a cutter in a linen firm. One boy lost two jobs for being too slow, he held each for only a couple of days and had no further employment. Another boy lost a job for this reason in a factory where conditions were very poor and where several young people of very low intelligence worked, but he settled later in outdoor work. A frequent job-changer was dismissed from his fourth job as a labourer in a soft drinks factory for being too slow but he had four subsequent jobs in the two year period in addition to periods in a Detention Centre and a Remand Home. The boy mentioned as having left his second job because of a sore back had been paid off from his first after a couple of days because he "couldn't cope". Another boy was dismissed after three weeks as a potato picker because he required close supervision, although he himself maintained that "too much was expected of him." A girl whose first two employers had been satisfied and who had remained on her second job on a farm for over a year, began to experience difficulties later. Having been paid off from her third job because of fainting spells, she was dismissed from her fourth job as a trainee machinist because she was not showing aptitude. Another job was lost for a reason closely associated with a young person's potential, if not her actual performance. The employer wanted to give her a trial without pay but dismissed her on the second day when told he must pay her a wage. Although he was an unsympathetic employer who tended to exploit young people from the special classes in a factory where conditions were very poor, it is doubtful whether this girl would have reached

an adequate standard of work even if given greater encouragement. The other job lost for reasons of performance was when a boy was paid off after two days as a gardening assistant because he was not able to answer the telephone.

"Didn't like it" was the reason given most frequently, thirteen times, by young people who left their jobs. This explanation does not provide any information about the suitability of the type or conditions of the work for mentally handicapped people generally unless specific reasons for the dislike are given, but when it appears several times in the record of an individual subject it may help to confirm an impression of instability in that individual. It appears at least once in the records of all the frequent job-changers. The boy who had most jobs, eight, left four of them with no other explanation but that he "didn't like" them. The girl who had seven jobs gave "didn't like it" as her explanation for leaving two of them. On the other hand two young people gave this reason for leaving jobs in which they had worked for considerable periods, one year and three months in one case and eleven months in the other. Subsequently they both returned to their original jobs, having each tried another job for a short period. It seems probable therefore that they had been temporarily upset by some incident or change of staff or that they had just become restless and wanted a change. This reason "got tired of it and wanted a change" was specifically given by another girl who left her job after one year four months, but a short time later she left her second job because she "didn't like it" and returned to her first place of employment.

Five young people left jobs with the idea of doing better for themselves in other employment, some successfully, some not. One boy left his job as an apprentice butcher to "get a better job" and became apprentice in the butchery department of the Co-operative store where he did very well. The Youth Employment Officer commented that the first employer did not think the boy would get far as a butcher, and probably told him so. A boy whose job as a van boy with a soft drinks firm had poor prospects, left to take up a better paid job as a builder's labourer, but this job could not be held for him when he was off sick and thereafter he had a succession of jobs. One girl who had already moved from a firm where she had been on short time, left her second place of employment because she was still on general duties while new girls had been moved to more highly paid jobs. Her mother felt she was being exploited and wanted her to get a higher wage. The mother was well known to the local authorities for her resentment of the fact that her daughter had been sent to a special school and her insistence that her daughter required no help from welfare or other agencies. However, her influence in persuading the girl to change her job may well have been justified for, two months later at the end of the follow-up period, she was reported to be very happy in her new job, earning about a pound a week more than in the previous one and expecting a rise of another pound the following month when she would be eighteen. Another girl, the one who had most jobs, also moved from one because her mother felt she was not getting

enough money and wanted her to earn a higher wage. Unfortunately, this happened at a time when the Youth Employment Officer hoped that she had settled at last. She had spent a full year in her sixth job, was earning approximately £8 and was doing extremely well. Her employers reported that the girl was in tears when, under pressure from her mother, she left to take up a better paid job as a bus conductress. This girl's mother, a widow, features in several of the reasons for her job changes. She left her third job because her mother told her to do so, saying that the family was moving to England. She left her fifth job also because her mother told her to do so, this time because she could not afford the fares.

Mother's influence was also apparent in three further cases. A girl who worked for seven months in a carpet firm which regularly employed girls from the special school, to whom the employers were said to be sympathetic, left because her mother felt that her work was too heavy. Later she had a temporary job as a potato picker, was dismissed from her third job as a machinist because she could not reach the required speed and eventually settled down again cutting towels in a linen factory. A boy left his work as a gardener's assistant after two days because his stepmother objected to the smell when he started dung spreading. Since this was the boy's fourth job and the chances of his getting one with no disadvantages were small, one might have expected her to put up with it, at least for a few weeks, but there was a deep antagonism between the boy and his step-

mother who throughout the follow-up period was exerting pressure to have him sent first to an Occupation Centre and later to a residential institution. A girl who, after a long period in which her parents did not consider any of the jobs offered to be suitable, worked for one day only was thought by the Youth Employment Officer to be handicapped by the over-protectiveness of her mother. He wrote "She worked for one day as a packer in a paper mill. Supervisor was very understanding and quite willing for her to return but could not make the necessary emotional adjustment to work. Tears flow when we suggest a job. She will soon be transferring to the D.E.P. If her mother was stricter and made her stay at work for two or three days, she could possibly settle for a routine job."

Individual reasons for leaving included those of a girl who left a residential post when an opportunity arose of similar work within travelling distance of home and of a girl who handed in her notice when other workers at the factory came out on strike and returned to her first employment which she had left to nurse her mother through a temporary illness.

xi. Wages and Earnings

a) Starting wages

Girls. Of the 39 girls interviewed and tested at school, 1 was not followed up because the family removed to England during the final year, leaving no indication of their whereabouts.

Of the remaining 38 girls 10 had no employment during the two years after they left school.

The starting wage of 4 girls in their first jobs was not known. 1 of these was known to be earning £6 per week after being in her job for eight months, another who had been upgraded and left school at 15 years was earning £3.10.0 per week in her second job at the age of 16, the third did not take up work until she was 17 years 9 months, and her starting wage was probably higher than average because of her age (at 18 she was earning £8.18.0 plus bonus, but was unlikely to hold her job). The fourth worked for one day only and her wage was not recorded.

1 girl was employed on the family farm in which she had shares. She was given a small amount of money each week and money was banked for her but because of the method of payment and the way in which her money was handled, her wage could not be estimated.

The other 23 girls all took up their first jobs during their 17th year. Table 4.18 shows the wages they received on starting work:-

Starting Wage	Number of girls receiving this amount
£3 to £3.19.11	2
£4 to £4.19.11	15
£5 to £5.19.11	3
£6 to £6.19.11	1
£7 to £7.19.11	1 plus 1 earning 30/- per day in a short temporary job potato picking.

Table 4.18. Starting wages of Girls in the follow-up study.

The average weekly wage of these girls (excluding the one temporarily earning 30/- daily as a potato picker) was £4.14.3. 1 girl earning £4 per week also received meals, another earning £4 per week also received full board.

The girl with the smallest known starting wage had very low intelligence and attainments. (I.Q. 54, Reading Age on leaving school: 6·2, Arithmetic Age: 6·00, Social Knowledge: 7·00, Manchester Scales: 35.) She was employed in a firelighter factory doing dirty work in very poor conditions but she was unable to hold even this job and was dismissed as "unsuitable for training" after a couple of days. Not all cases of low wage-earners at 16 were of this type, however. Quite a different example is that of the girl who was upgraded and left school at 15. This girl had an I.Q. of 72 and her attainments shortly before leaving school were Reading Age: 9·1, Arithmetic Age: 8·92, Social Knowledge score: 30·75 and Manchester Scales: 76. By the age of 16 she had moved to another part of Scotland from which the Youth Employment Officer sent the following report on her job:-

> "Her employer describes the work as 'some domestic work, mostly agricultural work, which includes dairy dishes and byre work'. Her official working hours are from 6.30 a.m. to 12 noon, and from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. though to allow for travelling and preparation the girl says that she is on the job from 6 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. Her gross weekly wages are £3.10.0 which leaves her with £3.2.6 net after payment of National Insurance. She has a fortnight's holiday per year during summer months and a few days at Christmas and her employers say "if a day off is required between times she gets it'."

When this report was written the girl had been in the job for eleven months.

By contrast the girl with the highest earnings at this age left school at 16 with a Reading Age of 5·5, an Arithmetic Age of 5·83, a Social Knowledge Score of 9·50 and a score on the Manchester Scales of 41. Her I.Q. was 59. She started work in a factory three days after leaving and was almost immediately on piece rate and able to earn £7.14.0 per week.

Boys. Of the 32 boys tested while at school 1 was not included in the follow-up as he died during his final school year. 3 boys who were not tested because of prolonged absence from school were included in the follow-up.

2 of the 34 boys whose records were kept had no employment during the first two years after they left school.

The starting wage of 5 boys was not known. 3 of these held jobs for only a few days and 1 was earning £5 after being at work for one year.

1 boy was upgraded and started work at the age of 15 on the minimum agricultural wage and one boy started work at 17 at approximately £6.

The other 25 boys all took up their first jobs during their seventeenth year. Table 4.19 shows the wages they received on starting work:-

Starting Wage	Number of boys receiving this amount
£4 to £4.19.11	11
£5 to £5.19.11	4
£6 to £6.19.11	6 (5 at the £6 level)
£7 to £7.19.11	4

Table 4.19. Starting wages of Boys in the follow-up study.

The average weekly wage of these boys was £5.8.7. A few boys were able to earn more by working overtime.

The lowest starting wage for the boys was £4. There were three boys who started at this wage. 1 left school with a Reading Age of 8·2, an Arithmetic Age of 9·0, a Social Knowledge Score of 24·75, and a score on the Manchester Scales of 70. His I.Q. was 69, comparatively high for this group, but he gave the impression of being a sad, inadequate type of lad, who had very poor eyesight and who came from a very large family. He held his first job, in a factory, for two days only and he left his second job, also factory work at £4 per week, after six days because he had a sore back. He had no further employment throughout the two year follow-up period and the Youth Employment Officer reported that he showed no real desire for work. The second lad who started at £4 per week also held his job for two days only although it was simple work in poor conditions in a firelighter factory. However, he later took up work as a chicken-farm labourer and, after changing farms once, appeared to settle well. This boy (I.Q. 65, Reading Age: 6·5, Arithmetic Age: 9·5, Social Knowledge Score: 26·5, Manchester Scales score 60) was very awkward socially and had difficulty in expressing himself and a "silliness" of manner that was partly attributable to nervousness. A country lad, with an unemployable mentally defective brother, he had always expressed a preference for farm work.

The third boy (I.Q. 65, Reading Age: 6·2, Arithmetic Age: 8·58, Social Knowledge Score: 29, Manchester Scales score: 62) appeared slow and dull but he was pleasant and well mannered and his teachers reported him to be steady and good tempered. He remained throughout the two year period with the window cleaner with whom he was first employed and, although his wages were never high (at 18 he was earning £6 per week), his employer gave him an excellent report on the basis of which the Youth Employment Officers gave his job performance an average rating of 1·11. (Chapter 4Avii3).

Of the two boys who had the highest starting wages, 1, who started at £7 which he made up to £8 with overtime, also remained with one employer throughout the period and achieved the highest possible rating on the basis of his employer's excellent report, every rater rating his success 1. This boy had an I.Q. of 68, a Reading Age of 10·1, an Arithmetic Age of 9·33, a Social Knowledge score of 31·75 and a score on the Manchester Scales of 76. He was registered as a Blind Person and came from a home in which several members were also mentally handicapped and registered as blind (Chapter 4Avii1). The other boy with a relatively high starting wage, £7.6.0, started work as a mining apprentice with the National Coal Board and was still in the job two years later, although his success was limited and was rated 3·89 on the basis of his supervisor's report.

b) Earnings at the age of eighteen

Girls. Only 18 of the girls were working when they reached the age of 18 years. As noted earlier, the wage of 1 girl working on the family farm could not be estimated. It is difficult to give a precise account of the earnings of the other 17 girls because by this time many of them were on piece rates "making their own wage"; and their earnings varied considerably. An example of the possible variation is provided by this quotation from a Youth Employment Officer's report: "Usually between £7 and £7.15.0. One week she earned £10.18.0." However, the variations were not generally as great as this, and Table 4.20 shows as accurately as possible the earnings of the girls at this age:-

Approximate Earnings	Numbers receiving this amount
£5 to £5.19.11	1 (fixed)
£6 to £6.19.11	3 (all variable)
£7 to £7.19.11	4 (3 fixed, 1 variable)
£8 to £8.19.11	6 (3 fixed, 3 variable)
£9 to £9.19.11	1 (variable)
£10 to £10.19.11	-
£11 to £11.19.11	2 (1 fixed, 1 variable)

Table 4.20. Earnings at age 18 of Girls in the follow-up study

The girl earning the highest sum, £11.4.2 per week, was working as a bus conductress but it was doubtful whether she would hold this job as she was not physically strong, having had tuberculosis in childhood. This was in fact her

seventh job. Having spent brief periods in five jobs, she appeared to settle in her sixth, remaining there for a year and obtaining a good report from her employer on the basis of which Youth Employment Officers rated her success in the job as 1·67. However, her mother felt that the money, £8, was inadequate and persuaded her to leave to take up the better-paid job on the buses (Chapter 4Aix1). By contrast, a girl earning almost the lowest sum, £6.15.3 plus an occasional bonus, at 18 years 5 months, was a steady worker who had taken up her first employment in a silk mill ten days after leaving school and had remained there throughout the two-year period. Her job success was also rated 1·67 by the Youth Employment Officers on the basis of her employer's good report (Chapter 4Avii5). Both girls had attended the same school. The girl in her seventh job earning the higher sum as a conductress had an I.Q. of 61, Reading Age of 10·6, Arithmetic Age of 9·33, a Social Knowledge Score of 34·75 and a score on the Manchester Scales of 72. The girl with the lower earnings who had remained in the one job had an I.Q. of 64, Reading Age of 7·6, Arithmetic Age of 9·5, a Social Knowledge Score of 31·5 and a score on the Manchester Scales of 73.

The girl who was earning the lowest sum at 18, £5 per week, was employed as a domestic worker in an Old People's Home, and also received accommodation and food. Her case was rather unusual as she did not start work until the age of 16 years 11 months, having spent a period at a domestic training centre. Her I.Q. was 68, her Reading Age 8·9, her

Arithmetic Age: 8·33, her Social Knowledge Score 28 and her score on the Manchester Scales 71.

In discussing those with the lowest earnings, one must keep in mind the fact that, by this age, 20 of the girls were not in employment and therefore had no earnings other than the small sums paid to those in Senior Occupation Centres.

Boys. There were 23 boys who were in employment at the age of 18. The mother of 1 had been involved in a dispute with officials and it was thought wiser not to provoke her antagonism by making enquiries into his earnings at this stage. 1 boy was employed by the National Coal Board and his earnings varied according to whether he was on surface or underground work. As in the case of the girls, it is difficult to give a precise account of the earnings of the boys at this age because these varied according to the amount of overtime worked, or because the boys were paid piece rates or job rates. Where the average overtime payment is known it is included in the earnings given below. In three cases where overtime was worked but the average amount was not specified, this is indicated. Table 4.21 shows the approximate earnings of the boys who were working at 18:-

Approximate Earnings	Numbers receiving this amount
£6 to £6.19.11	4
£7 to £7.19.11	6 (plus unspecified amount for overtime in 3 cases)
£8 to £8.19.11	5
£9 to £9.19.11	1
£10 to £10.19.11	-
£11 to £11.19.11	2
£12 to £12.19.11	1
£13 to £13.19.11	1
£14 to £14.19.11	1

Table 4.21. Earnings at age 18 of Boys in the follow-up study.

The two lowest earners at this age were both getting about £6. Each had been with one employer throughout the two year follow-up period. 1 was doing labouring and packing jobs in a small rather cramped old factory. His employer was sympathetic but unlike most of these young people the lad had been registered as Disabled at his employer's request. On the basis of his employer's report his success in his job was rated as 3·33 by Youth Employment Officers. The other boy earning £6 was the one already mentioned who worked for a window cleaner and whose success was rated 1·11.

However, another of the boys whose job success achieved a rating of 1 had the second highest earnings at this age. This was the boy also mentioned before who was registered as blind and who was employed throughout the follow-up period in a brick works. His employer reported that he was earning an average of £13 per week. Because of the consistency of

his employment, his total earnings over the follow-up period were probably the highest in the group.

The boy whose weekly earnings at 18 were the highest was employed as a labourer by a demolition contractor and was making £14.17.0 per week. This was his fifth job. He had spent eleven months in his first job as a farm labourer and had then had three jobs, two of which lasted only a few days and the third, a return to his first employer, lasted a little under two months. At the end of the follow-up period he had been with the demolition contractor for six months. On the basis of a report from the farmer who had employed him twice, Youth Employment Officers had rated his success in the farming job 3·67. He was a boy with poor attainments whose intelligence appeared even lower than his score would suggest (I.Q. 63, Reading Age: 5·8, Arithmetic Age: 6·33, Social Knowledge Score: 7·5, Manchester Scales Score: 54), but he was physically big and strong (Chapter 4Aix5).

xii) Trade Union membership

Only 10 boys and 6 girls were reported to be trades union members. The 2 boys who had the highest possible ratings on both employment and overall social adjustment (Chapter 4Avii1/4Biv5 and Chapter 4Avii2/4Biv1) each belonged to his appropriate union. The third boy with the highest employment rating (Chapter 4Avii3) who was not rated at the highest point on the overall social adjustment scale and who worked for a small window cleaning firm, was not a union

member. Among the 8 other male union members, there were 2 more of those who obtained the highest rating on overall social adjustment (Chapter 4Biv3 and 4Biv6). One of these, a member of the National Union of Mineworkers, was described by the social adjustment assessor as being "very much the man of the household", his father being dead. Another boy with no father at home and similarly described (Chapter 4Bvii6) was a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Another union member was a boy who was not rated particularly highly on adjustment after leaving school but who, before leaving had scored higher than any other subject on the Manchester Scales (cf. Chapter 3iie). One of the boys with a record of delinquency (Chapter 4Bvii1) was a union member at the time of the social adjustment interviews but, as he never stayed long in one job, his membership may have been somewhat spasmodic. A boy who worked in a small factory and was registered as a Disabled Person (not because he was particularly severely disabled but because his employer requested it) was a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union. While working at a foundry, as he had done for three and a half years, the boy described in Chapter 4Bvii7 had belonged to a union but he ceased to be a union member after he changed his job. The remaining union member worked for the local authority cleansing department (he was formerly an employee of H.M. Dockyard) and belonged to the National Union of Public Employees. None of the boys in agricultural work was a union member.

Of the 2 girls with the highest overall employment adjustment rating, 1 (Chapter 4Avii5) belonged to a union, although she was vague about which one. Her work was in textiles. Another girl textile worker belonged to the Amalgamated Society of Textile Workers and Kindred Trades. A girl who worked steadily throughout the follow-up period in a carpet factory said that she was a member of the Scottish Carpet and Textile Workers' Union. (Three other girls had worked in this same factory and may therefore have been union members while they were there but they had married and left before the question about membership was asked.) A girl who had attended Senior Training Centre and had not taken up work until a year and five months after leaving school was a member of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades. Another girl who had been unemployed for most of the two year follow-up period but had later taken up work in a paper mill, belonged to the National Union of Public Employees.

xiii) Relations with other variables

The relations between employment adjustment and social adjustment are shown at the end of this chapter (Chapter 4Bviii). In that section also appears a comparative analysis of the relations between the potentially predictive variables and the two aspects of post-school adjustment.

B. Social Adjustment

Throughout the follow-up period the author was receiving occasional information about the subjects' social adjustment from their former teachers and from Children's Officers and Probation Officers. Mental Welfare Officers also made reports (cf. following section). The author talked with some of the subjects at an evening club for former pupils. None of the information obtained in this way was revealed to the independent assessor before she carried out her ratings of social adjustment but it was available to the author as a guide to the validity of the independent ratings.

i) Mental Welfare Officers' reports

In the second half of 1968 the Medical Officers of the county and of the two large burghs agreed to co-operate in this study by asking the Mental Welfare Officers to submit reports to the author after their next visit to the subjects' homes.

The author provided forms for this purpose but made it clear that the officers could if they preferred write descriptive reports covering the points raised on the form in whatever order they wished. All the officers chose to use the form. Although a few cases were described fairly freely, most officers were very restricted in their replies. Some even reduced their responses to the yes/no type, although the lay-out of the form was designed to discourage this. A copy of the form is given as Appendix 6.

After questions about the home and family, the officers were asked to make three ratings:-

1. How would you rate the support that this home and family give to the young person?

2. How would you rate his/her social adjustment since leaving school

   a) in comparison with other mentally handicapped leavers?

   b) in comparison with ordinary leavers?

Seven point scales were provided for each of the ratings. A long scale was provided because it was anticipated that there might be a tendency for the ratings to bunch towards one end. This did in fact happen.

The number of forms returned was 53. (1 boy had died, 3 girls and 1 boy were living outside the areas in which the Mental Welfare Officers operated, 1 boy was in process of moving, 1 boy had never been registered with the Health Department, 1 parent refused to be visited and 11 forms were not returned without explanation despite reminders.)

Home support was rated

excellent in 11 cases,
very good in 23 cases,
good in 7 cases,
moderate in 9 cases,
poor in 1 case,
very poor in 1 case,
extremely poor in no case.

One home was not rated because the boy was living in an institution.

Although it is by no means impossible that in some communities a large majority of young people should come from very good homes, one might feel justified in being somewhat sceptical about such a high proportion of very good and excellent home support as that indicated by these ratings, even if no information were available from other sources. Evidence from other sources, however, suggested that the proportion of the subjects of this study who came from deprived, disturbed or otherwise unsatisfactory homes was probably higher than the proportion of the general population who come from such homes. The writer therefore found it difficult to accept the Mental Welfare Officers' estimate of the degree of support that the subjects were receiving from their homes and families.

That there was a reluctance on the part of the officers to be critical was confirmed by their ratings of the young people's social adjustment. In answer to the question, "How would you rate his/her social adjustment in comparison with other mentally handicapped leavers?" the rating

excellent was given 4 times,
very good was given 25 times,
good was given 10 times,
moderate was given 12 times,
poor was not used,
very poor was given once,
extremely poor was not used.

One girl's adjustment was not rated because the officer stated,

"very difficult to assess as she does not mix except with the family."

These young people were not a specially selected group of mentally handicapped school leavers. One would therefore expect that when their adjustment was being compared with that of each other and of other mentally handicapped leavers, a more balanced distribution would have been obtained.

When asked to rate the social adjustment of the subjects as compared with that of ordinary school leavers, the Mental Welfare Officers rated it

excellent in 1 case,
very good in 17 cases,
good in 20 cases,
moderate in 8 cases,
poor in 5 cases,
very poor was not used,
extremely poor in 1 case.

The girl who was reported not to "mix except with the family" was again not rated.

Although in this comparison the subjects were not being rated against other members of the same population, as they were on the previous scale, and one cannot therefore make assertions about the expected distribution, it nevertheless seems even less probable that the social adjustment of the handicapped leavers should be so superior to that of ordinary leavers as to justify such a high proportion being rated above the mean.

Evidence in individual cases tended to confirm the impression that these reports were not valid. In one case (Chapter 4Aix2 and 4Bvii3) a teacher had volunteered the information that the boy was very unhappy at home because he had been rejected for years by his step-mother who had always pressed with the father the cause of her own son, who was slightly younger than the subject. Later a Probation Officer had reported to the author that there was a great deal of rejection of this boy by his step-mother who rarely missed an opportunity of impressing upon the Probation Officer that he was not her son. Her own son was by that time established in the family business. A chance remark from a Youth Employment Officer had suggested that, apart from his own instability, the boy was unlikely to hold a job because he was continually discouraged and disparaged by his step-mother. The Mental Welfare Officer, however, rated the support that was given to this subject by his home and family as excellent and reported that the step-mother had a helpful attitude towards him. Confronted by this conflicting information, the writer approached the appropriate Children's Officer and asked if the family were known to her department. She was told that the boy's case was known when he was deserted by his natural mother in infancy but there was also an occasion when he was about thirteen years when a neighbour reported that she had found him sleeping in her coal-house at 2 a.m. It was said not to have been the first time and it was also said that neighbours sometimes used to feed him because the parents locked the house against him when they went out. Many of

the step-mother's complaints against this boy may have been justified, he may well have been awkward to handle and a problem to his parents as a result of early maternal deprivation and his disturbed childhood. Nevertheless, the rating of the home support as excellent, the highest point on a seven-point scale, and the description of the step-mother's attitude as helpful would appear to be questionable in the light of information from several other sources.

Another boy whose home support was rated as excellent by a different Mental Welfare Officer also had an extremely disturbed background. His mother was separated from his father by the time the boy was five and at about this time she had an illegitimate child. When at the age of six the subject was reported by his Head teacher as presenting a severe discipline problem, the baby's father was said to be living with the mother, although the boy himself shared a room with her. At this time the mother wrote complaining of the subject's aggressive behaviour, saying that she could not understand him, that she had shielded him until she could do so no longer and asking if there were nowhere he could go for training because he was beyond her. The boy was received into care of a Children's Department and remained in care for three years, returning to his mother at the age of nine. There followed a series of referrals for psychiatric treatment and complaints from various sources about the boy's behaviour, the mother at one time refusing to co-operate in treatment, at another writing to tell the psychiatrist that she was frightened because the boy had been warned by the police after

stealing from a neighbour's home. The mother was reported by the psychiastrist to have strong feelings of guilt towards the boy and unrealistically high expectations for him. Her acceptance of him depended upon his conforming to her expectations. The psychiatrist agreed that there was much hostility behind the facade of politeness but disagreed with the suggestion of the Educational Psychologist and the teacher that the boy was developing a paranoid condition and required treatment. When the author visited the school to test other pupils, she observed the boy's peculiar behaviour in class before her attention was drawn to it. In the interview situation and while being tested himself, the boy was extremely polite and quite talkative but tense, with a number of nervous mannerisms. Some of his responses suggested an obsessional concern with neatness and cleanliness and an unnatural pre-occupation with how good his mother was to him. Some replies also suggested feelings of anxiety and guilt, not the understandable "done down" feeling that any handicapped or deprived child might experience but something more abnormal. After he left school, however, the boy did better than his teacher, or the author, feared he might. The Youth Employment Officer reported that the mother had pestered him continually in the weeks before the school-leaving date and the boy had sat in the office and cried. However, he was placed as an apprentice moulder a few days after leaving and held on to this job throughout the two year follow-up period. On the basis of the employer's report his job performance was rated 2·22, although his employer did mention that his work-mates had been warned against leg-

pulling as he reacted badly to this. In spite of the subject's unexpectedly good employment record, the Mental Welfare Officer's rating of the home support as excellent and his remarks that the mother's attitude towards the boy was "excellent in every way" and that he was "indeed fortunate in having such an understanding mother" were difficult to reconcile with the earlier case-history. Further details of this case are given in Chapter 4Bvii7.

Another case in which the Mental Welfare Officer's rating was puzzling was that of a girl who was the fourth of five children. The father had an injured back and had had a number of operations on it. He had been unemployed on this account for several years and there appeared to be little chance of his working again. In a report by the Educational Psychologist the girl had been described as coming from "a very under-privileged family." Her older brother had been at an Approved School, her married sister had attended a special class and her younger brother was also at a special class. The mother was said to rely considerably on the subject's help in running the house. It is true that family relationships appeared to be friendly and affectionate and this is probably the most important factor in a young person's background. Nevertheless, it was surprising in this as in the previous cases that the Mental Welfare Officer should rate the home and family support as excellent, the highest point on the scale. (The girl later married and her marriage is described in Chapter 4Bvia7.)

Discrepancies were apparent not only between the reports of Mental Welfare Officers and those from other sources, but also between the standards of the Mental Welfare Officers themselves. For example, the social adjustment of one girl was rated excellent (1) in comparison with that of other mentally handicapped leavers, although she had no employment throughout the two years after leaving and was reported by the Mental Welfare Officer himself to have "no real acquaintances outside the home and the Occupational Training Centre." The only justification for the very high rating appeared to be the fact that she had recently taken a typing course and was reported to have obtained a diploma. By contrast, a girl who had worked steadily in her job since she was placed a month after leaving school, whose job performance was rated 2·44 on the basis of her employer's report, who frequently attended the evening club at her former school and local dances, who, although of a shy disposition, appeared to have a number of friends and interests was rated moderate (4) on social adjustment by her Mental Welfare Officer. Also the boy who was registered as blind (Chapter 4Avii1 and 4Biv5), who obtained the highest rating possible for employment adjustment, who regularly cycled to work, who played musical instruments, who had a number of hobbies and a group of friends was rated good (3) on social adjustment by the Mental Welfare Officer, i.e. a lower rating than that obtained from Mental Welfare Officers by 29 other subjects, some of whom had no employment and some of whose social lives were

restricted almost entirely to their homes. (In the independent assessment this boy obtained the highest rating possible on the scale of overall social adjustment.)

That there should be a difference in standards among several different raters was to be expected. The author had not, however, expected that the standards of the mental welfare officers would so often appear to be at variance with those of other social workers or teachers. Their predominantly high rating of the young people's home support and adjustment also requires some explanation. It may be that the Mental Welfare Officers wished to maintain friendly relations with the families they visited and were afraid that those who were criticised might get to hear of any adverse criticism. (The author had noticed during conversations in school staff-rooms that it was always taken for granted that she knew the local people on whom the conversation centred, even when she was miles from her home and these people were in fact strangers to her.) It may be that the Mental Welfare Officers felt that admission of poor social adjustment or poor home support might reflect badly on the quality of after-care they provided. On the other hand, it may simply be that the Mental Welfare Officers did not see it as part of their function to probe too deeply and were ready to accept that all was well from outward appearances and from parental assurances, particularly those of the more articulate mothers.

Whatever the reasons for the discrepancies among the Mental Welfare Officers' reports, their existence does

illustrate the weakness of studies that rely too heavily on information recorded in official files at various times by a variety of social workers and officials. It shows the importance of obtaining a consistent standard of judgement in making an assessment. The fact that so many tensions below the surface of family relationships appear not to have been recognised by the Mental Welfare Officers shows however that a consistent standard of judgement is not enough. If one is to have confidence in the judgement, it is essential that it should be made by someone skilled in social case-work. In some studies the research worker in his assessment of adjustment has relied heavily on information and impressions gained by himself during a single home visit. His standard may have been consistent but he may not have been adequately informed or sufficiently skilled to make a sound judgement on the basis of such brief contact with the family. Ideally, one would have a panel of qualified and experienced social workers each rating every case so that one could estimate their reliability and take an average of their ratings, as was done with the Youth Employment Officers in the rating of job performance. Administratively, this is not always feasible. If it is not, then it is generally better that the assessment should be carried out by someone other than the co-ordinator of the research. In this study a highly qualified and experienced case-worker made the assessments, while the author had a substantial collection of information that was not revealed to the assessor but was available as a check on the validity of her judgement.

ii) The independent assessment - the interviews

The qualifications of the independent assessor and the way in which the interviews were organised have been described in Chapter 2Biii. The interview schedule is given as Appendix 7a and b.

The author and the independent assessor both preferred a semi-structured type of interview. The author sent the assessor a list of points which she thought might usefully be covered in the interviews and asked her, as an experienced interviewer, to organise them in a way which seemed to flow naturally to her and suit her style of interviewing. This she did, incorporating a few additional questions which she thought might yield useful information. The author then prepared the lay-out and produced the schedule.

By the time the interviews were carried out all the young people had been out of school for at least three years. Of the 72 included in the original follow-up, 1 boy had died, 1 boy had been committed to the State Mental Hospital at Carstairs and 2 girls and 1 boy had removed to other parts of Britain (2 of these are included in the employment figures because contact with them was not lost until after the end of their two-year employment follow-up period). No ratings were given for 1 other boy because, although his mother allowed herself to be drawn into a door-step conversation from which a good deal of information was obtained, she would not consent to a proper interview, having previously been involved in arguments, and indeed litigation, with the school and local officials. The interviewer called at the home of

the boy who had been committed to Carstairs and obtained what information she could but she was naturally not able to rate him on the social adjustment scales. However, after consultation with the Physician Superintendent and the Charge Nurse she did give ratings for a boy who was a resident in a mental deficiency hospital. This boy worked in the hospital's workshop, took part in a range of activities provided there, including dances, and was allowed out in the evenings and home at weekends, so it seemed feasible to rate his adjustment.

By the interviewer's choice the initial approach to parents was made by unnotified home visit. This was time-consuming, in some cases several visits were necessary before a parent could be seen and it was then often necessary to arrange to call back to see the subject. However, the interviewer felt that this approach made refusal less likely, no-one refused completely to discuss his son or daughter but several were reluctant at first and would probably have refused had they been contacted by letter. The author was satisfied that no reluctant parents were pressed to co-operate if they did not wish to do so, but rather that they were reassured by the interviewer's personality and her answers to their questions about the study.

In her initial door-step explanation the interviewer gave her name and said that she was doing a survey for Edinburgh University concerned with young people who left some schools in the area in 1966 and 1967. She mentioned that she had no connection with the school or local authority and

told parents that their child had not been singled out from among his school-fellows, that no-one was trying to check up on him, but that the survey was being done to find out how these young people were getting on now that they were grown up. She explained that the parents need not answer all the questions if they did not wish to do so and that anything they told her would be confidential to the survey.

Whenever possible, arrangements were made to see the subject separately, but where it seemed likely that this would cause resistance or suspicion, the interviewer did not insist upon seeing the subject on his own. Occasionally, siblings, relatives or neighbours were present in the room. The interviewer then asked "Shall we go ahead now or would you like me to call back when you are free?" In cases where people other than the parents continued to be present, the interviewer felt that this may have affected replies to question 82, "Would you say that there are any special problems with X at home now? Have you any special worries about him?" but she also felt that in a few cases the presence of other people enabled her to get a clearer picture of the young person than she would have obtained from an inarticulate parent.

iii) <u>The independent assessment - the rating scales</u>

The author suggested seven scales which were accepted and used by the independent assessor. These scales were 1. financial independence, 2. executive independence, 3. social relationships, 4. participation in community

activities, 5. satisfaction derived from leisure pursuits, 6. household responsibilities and 7. overall social adjustment.

The author wishes to acknowledge the work of Jackson, 1967 for its influence in the choice and naming of these scales. Such aspects of social adjustment had been in her mind as possible aspects for rating since the early stages of the research and therefore the author might well have chosen similar scales had she not read Dr. Jackson's thesis, but she has no doubt that his discussion of the subject and his attempt to devise a satisfactory method of assessing the social adjustment of mentally handicapped young people gave her a clearer understanding of her objective and influenced her final choice of scales. It is true that most of these aspects of social adjustment had previously been adopted as criteria, either singly or in various combinations, by other research workers, but Jackson tried to devise a more objective and comprehensive measure than his predecessors in this field. Table 4.22a shows the criteria which he adopted.

The author considered, however, that Jackson's method of scoring and analysing his ratings resulted in a loss of information. (His scoring instructions are shown in the Note to Table 4.22.) By combining and dichotomising his scales, he reduced their nicety of discrimination. She therefore preferred the use of a separate five-point scale for each aspect rated. A total social adjustment score could of course be obtained when required by the addition of the scores

1. Self-support: i) executive independence
   ii) financial independence

2. Inter-personal relationships: i) relationship with mother
   ii) relationships with siblings
   iii) relationships with peers

3. Degree of social integration: i) community participation
   ii) leisure pursuits
   iii) social behaviour.

Table 4.22. Criteria of social adjustment adopted by Jackson, R.N. (1967).

A four-point scale was devised for each of the constituent criteria of the three personal-social factors. Each subject was rated at the appropriate level on each scale. For the purpose of the general statistical analysis (χ^2) each four-point scale was dichotomised.

Levels 1 and 2 = satisfactory adjustment

Levels 3 and 4 = unsatisfactory adjustment

If a subject was rated satisfactory on all the constituent criteria of a personal-social factor, he was classified as having achieved a satisfactory level of adjustment within that area. If the subject was rated as unsatisfactory on one or more of the constituent criteria, he was classified as having failed to achieve a satisfactory level of adjustment within that area. With the adoption of a more detailed statistical analysis (rank order correlation), the four-point scale of the personal-social factor 1, self-support, was retained while the rating scales for factors 2 and 3 were dichotomised in the manner illustrated above.

Note to Table 4.22. Methods of scoring and analysis used by Jackson, R.N. (1967) in assessing social adjustment.

on the separate scales. Each scale was analysed in relation to the other social adjustment scales and in relation to all the predictive variables and the employment variables. No attempt was made to produce a success/failure dichotomy, as the author considered this to be as inappropriate to social adjustment as to employment adjustment (cf. Chapter 4Avi).

The following list gives an indication of what the scales were intended to measure.

1. Financial Independence - this was to a large extent dependent upon whether, and how much, the young person was earning, but it also concerned the degree to which he handled his own money, contributed to the household financially, worked out his own budget and managed his own savings.

2. Executive Independence - this had to cover a wide range, from simple acts of washing, dressing and feeding to the ability to look after oneself for a period during the absence of other adults (some girls were in fact looking after home and family). Account was also taken of such factors as whether the young person decided for himself where and when to go out and what time to come home.

3. Social Relationships - this concerned relationships with the family and friends. Although not ignored, relationships with employers and workmates did not weigh so heavily, as they had been taken into account in the assessment of job performance. Rather less emphasis was placed on the mother-child relationship than in Jackson's

study. A number of the mothers had been, or were, receiving psychiatric treatment and some were known to have rejected the subjects. It is not possible to form a relationship from one side only and it was felt that even very stable and well-adjusted young people would have been unable to have satisfactory relationships in some of these cases. It therefore did not seem fair to penalise them for its absence when their general adjustment was being assessed.

4. Participation in Community Activities - the extent to which the young person participated in activities in his local community naturally depended to some extent upon the opportunities in the area, whether home was in a large town or a remote cottage, a pit village or a university city.

5. Satisfaction Derived from Leisure Pursuits - in assessing young people's use of leisure some researchers emphasise the difference between active and passive pursuits, e.g. playing or watching sports. Although this aspect was not forgotten in the present study more emphasis was put upon the degree of satisfaction and enrichment which the young person derived from a pursuit.

6. Household Responsibilities - this aspect was not included in Jackson's scales but it does figure in the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation. Among other functions, such a scale was considered necessary to redress the balance slightly towards the girls, as the boys were generally

allowed greater freedom of movement and were more active outside the home.

7. Overall Social Adjustment - this scale was not intended to be simply a sum or total of all the others but to represent the interviewer's impression of how well the subject appeared from his social behaviour to be adjusted to his society as a whole person. Naturally, those who scored highly on the other scales tended to score highly on this one but the correlation was not perfect.

In order to obtain the maximum information, the author included in her analysis the additional variable, total social adjustment, which was the sum of a subject's scores on all the scales including that of overall social adjustment. The correlation between scores on this variable and the scores given by the rater on overall social adjustment was 0·93. The correlation between the ratings on overall social adjustment and total scores on the scales excluding overall social adjustment was 0·91.

Table 4.23 shows the inter-correlations of all the social adjustment ratings.

All the scales were five-point. The highest rating being 1, the lowest being 5. The mean scores on the scales are shown in Table 4.24. The rater was rating each young person in comparison with others in the research group, not in comparison with people of this age-group in the general population. To have rated the adjustment of the subjects in comparison with that of school leavers generally would have required an extensive pilot study for which resources

	Financial Independence	Executive Independence	Social Relations	Participation in Community Activities	Satisfaction from Leisure Pursuits	Household Responsibilities	Overall Social Adjustment	Total Social Adjustment
Financial Independence	1	0·77	0·72	0·57	0·65	0·29	0·85	0·88
Executive Independence		1	0·76	0·62	0·74	0·19	0·83	0·88
Social Relations			1	0·76	0·70	0·20	0·80	0·88
Participation in Community Activities				1	0·64	0·18	0·67	0·78
Satisfaction from Leisure Pursuits					1	0·03	0·76	0·81
Household Responsibilities						1	0·29	0·41
Overall Social Adjustment							1	0·93
Total Social Adjustment								1

Table 4.23. Correlations among the social adjustment ratings. N=66.

were not available in this study.

Scale	Mean Rating	Standard Deviation
Financial Independence	2·92	1·45
Executive Independence	2·54	1·25
Social Relations	3·11	1·24
Participation in Community Activities	3·39	1·00
Satisfaction from Leisure Pursuits	2·89	1·24
Household Responsibilities	2·82	1·32
Overall Social Adjustment	3·03	1·17
Total Social Adjustment	20·68	6·88

Table 4.24. Mean ratings given by the independent assessor on the social adjustment scales.

It will be seen from Table 4.23 that one scale has consistently low correlations with the other scales. This is the scale of Household Responsibilities. The most probably explanation is that young people who are not in employment and whose contacts and activities outside the home are severely restricted spend more time in the house and are consequently expected to do more to help in it. In particular there was a group of unemployed girls whose general social adjustment was poor who nevertheless obtained relatively high scores on the scale of Household Responsibilities. A contrasting group, who also obtained high scores on Household Responsibilities, consisted of girls who had married. These girls had all done well in employment before marriage and had more developed social lives than the unemployed group but their numbers were not sufficient to raise

the correlations between this and the other scales higher. The fact that the correlation between employment adjustment (and weeks worked) and Household Responsibilities was considerably lower than those between employment adjustment and the other social adjustment variables supports the interpretation that those who were working were not generally expected to undertake so much responsibility for household tasks. Among the Manchester Scales administered before the subjects left school the scale of Responsibility in the Home had correlated more highly than any of the other scales with subsequent overall employment adjustment, and total social adjustment.

iv) Successful social adjustment

One girl and one boy obtained the highest possible rating on all the social adjustment scales.

1. The boy has already been described in Chapter 4Avii2, as he also obtained the highest possible rating on employment adjustment. This young man was working as an apprentice butcher. He had an active and varied social life with many friends, both boys and girls. His family had lived in the village for over thirty years so he had a circle of friends there and in the nearby county town and was aware of the opportunities for activities available in the area. He attended Army Cadet meetings two evenings a week and went to Church at least once a month. He sometimes went to dances run by the local Co-operative Society or the bowling club, in summer he went swimming and he also went shooting and fishing. He had spent a fishing holiday in

the north-west with three other lads and had booked with the landlady to stay there again. His absorbing interest, however, was in cars, and he had passed his driving test. When the interviewer called, his second-hand car had broken down but he was hoping to buy another. To his great satisfaction he recognised the make and correctly estimated the date of the interviewer's car. He and his older married brother spent a great deal of time taking down and re-assembling old cars and he had also helped his brother to build a boat. He borrowed books on car maintenance from the library. Unlike most of the employed boys, he also helped a good deal in the house, as his mother died a little less than two years after he left school and he and his father kept house for themselves.

2. The girl who gained the highest rating also drove and owned a car. This was of considerable importance to her social life as she lived and worked on a farm. Her father, who had owned the farm, died suddenly a fortnight before she left school. The girl and her elder brother had persuaded their mother to give up outdoor work and take over the clerical and administrative side of running the farms. As the brother spent a good deal of time on the other two farms owned by the family, the girl herself carried considerable responsibility on the home farm and was accepted by the men working there as being in a supervisory position. Her main concern was care of the animals and she would sit up through the night with a sick beast. Her working and social life

were not sharply differentiated since she did not have regular hours but worked as the job required, usually until about seven in the evening. However, she had an active social life with a wide circle of friends among the sons and daughters of local farmers. A good-natured girl, she was very much the country lass in appearance, being fair-haired, pink-cheeked, slightly plump and slightly shy. Despite her busy working life, she was said to be fond of dancing and clothes. Her mother did not worry if she was out late at dances because she knew all her friends, "we farmers are clannish," she said. The girl was reported to take a full share with her mother of all the household tasks and to be an excellent cook, "a real farmer's daughter". The only indication that her adjustment in the future might not be as smooth as it seemed at present was her deep attachment to her father's memory which caused her consistently to say that she would never find anyone as good as him to marry. She seemed to fear that anyone who wished to marry her might do so for her money, as her father had left her well provided for. When tested at a school, this girl had not scored highly on the Manchester Scales or the Social Knowledge test. Presumably, at that stage, not having acquired her own transport, she was more restricted by the location of her home and, being away at school during the day, she was content to spend the rest of her time on the farm.

Another boy and girl also obtained the highest possible rating on the scale of overall social adjustment although each dropped a point on two of the other scales:

3. Like the boy already described in this section, 4Biv1, this boy lived alone with his widowed father, but in this case the mother had died earlier in the boy's life, when he was ten years old. He had a younger sister who had been brought up since her mother's death by relatives in the west of Scotland and an older brother who had not lived at home for seven years. In this household the father did nearly all the cooking and housework but the interviewer gained the impression that the father preferred to do it himself and the boy was happy to let him get on with it. When the father had been away for a week, the subject had managed to look after himself without difficulty. This young man was also interested in cars, knew a good deal about maintenance and repairs, attended stock car races and spent much time tinkering about with cars and motor bikes. He had not, however, passed his test and his father's main anxiety appeared to be that he had occasionally driven without a licence. The young man belonged to his firm's social club and went around with a group of lads but because he was big he had always tended to mix with those older than himself. His current close friend was twenty-eight. This subject had the highest officially recorded I.Q. of any in the follow-up study, 79. This boy's earnings were relatively high for the research group but his employment record, (unknown to the assessor of social adjustment) while not poor, contained some hints of possible instability. He was the lad who had left two jobs after arguments with foremen over wet conditions. Because of his active social life, he obtained the highest

rating on overall social adjustment and the author accepted the interviewer's judgement of his present adjustment. However, the author felt there might be a slight danger of future deviant behaviour in this case.

4. This girl was the survivor of illegitimate twins, the other twin having died at birth. She spent her first two and a half years in an institution for adults where her mother, who was mentally defective, was working. The child then went into hospital for six weeks observation because she was so thin. She was taken into care by the Children's Department and placed in a Children's Home. Shortly before she reached school aage, she was sent to the foster home in which she was still living when the research period ended. She developed an affectionate relationship with her foster parents and spoke as if her foster family were her own. She had a married foster brother in England and a married foster sister in Germany. There was also a foster brother in his late thirties still living at home. The subject was reported not to get on well with this foster brother and there was also some antagonism between him and his mother, apparently on account of his heavy drinking. At the time of the social adjustment assessment the foster father was seriously ill with lung cancer, He had had one lung removed and had been badly burned in the course of X-ray treatment. The foster mother was worried, largely on account of his health but also by money problems that had arisen as a result of his prolonged illness. The interviewer noted the ways in which the subject unobtrusively sought to comfort and

protect her foster mother who obviously had a high regard for the girl's dependability and commonsense. This girl had taken up work in a jam factory a week after leaving school and had remained there throughout the two-year follow-up. Later she left, believing herself to have been unfairly treated when her pay was cut because she had been unable to get to work on time during a bus strike. Before giving in her notice she had obtained another job in a jute mill. To supplement the poorer wage in the new job she did some evening work as a barmaid, although she was reported to have a strong aversion to excessive drinking. The bar had occasionally been the scene of rough behaviour and some of the girl's companions from the jute mill were not to the foster mother's liking but she felt that the girl was too sensible to be led astray. Although she spent a good deal of her money on make-up and clothes, the subject also contributed £3 to the household and saved £2 per week. Having purchased such items as a tape recorder and a record player, she had been saving to take her foster mother on holiday before the foster father's illness made this impossible. The girl was said to have been friendly for two years with a young man who had worked in the laboratory at the jam factory and they had been engaged. He had become a medical student at the nearby University. However, it was rumoured that he was responsible for a fellow student's pregnancy and the subject had broken off the engagement. It was said that he had joined the army to avoid marrying the girl student but, as she later produced coloured twins, he was apparently

cleared of responsibility. He still called occasionally to see the subject and the foster mother thought the relationship might develop again but the girl declared that she was not going to be pushed around and have her life messed up. The author felt that this tale as related to the interviewer was somewhat highly coloured and as such, not inconsistent with the impression she had formed when testing the girl. Her suspicions that the subject had a tendency to exaggerated reporting seemed confirmed by the account the girl gave to the independent interviewer of her job in the jam factory. She reported that, for a year before she left, she had been acting as a supervisor with ten girls under her and that she had been responsible for entertaining foreign visitors. Her employers had been sorry to see her go and had told her there was always a place for her if she wished to return. It is true that the girl had worked consistently with the firm for well over two years but her employer's replies to the questionnaire had not been entirely favourable, her job performance had been rated 3.56 by the Youth Employment Officers and later comments from the Personnel Officer suggested that her attitude to work had been deteriorating and that she had been causing trouble among her work-mates by trying to boss them. After the independent assessments of social adjustment had been completed, the author considered it desirable to inform the assessor of the discrepancy between the girl's account of her work record and the employer's and to ask the assessor if she wished to reconsider her assessment in view of the girl's

tendency to exaggerate. (This was one of only two cases in which the author felt it necessary to query the independent assessment and to invite the assessor to reconsider her rating in the light of evidence which had not been available to her.) After consideration, the assessor decided to confirm the original rating. She felt that the girl's general behaviour, particularly her support of her foster mother, justified this high rating. She decided that the fact that the girl may have exaggerated reports of some of her activities did not invalidate the assessment which was more broadly based.

Three other boys obtained the highest possible rating on the scale of overall social adjustment, although dropping five or six points on the total of the other scales.

5. This boy has already been described (Chapter 4Avii1) as he also obtained the highest possible rating on overall employment adjustment. In this family the subject, his father and his four siblings were nearly blind and the father's elderly mother, who was often in the home, was totally blind. Although this lad's sight was better than that of his father or his siblings, it was likely to deteriorate. The main restriction it placed on his social life was that, although he cycled, he could not drive a car or ride a motor-bike and he felt this to be a disadvantage in the competition for girl-friends. He had been an active member of a group of boys but by the time of the interviews, this was breaking up, as its members wanted to go out with girls. The subject himself had had a couple of girl friends and regularly went at weekends

to dances in a town some miles from his home. The home, however, was isolated and he could not offer anyone transport. Nevertheless, the problem was not yet sufficiently acute to prevent him from filling his leisure time. He attended weight-lifting and training sessions to keep fit. His mother played the piano and encouraged the family in musical interests and he himself played several instruments. At one time he was the prime mover in a proposal to form a "pop" music group with his friends, mostly lads employed by the same firm, and he bought equipment, including drums, guitar and an electric organ, for which he had saved himself. However, the group broke up because the others lost interest. He continued to play the various instruments he had purchased, in addition to the piano and the recorder. He gave a twenty-minute recital to the interviewer on the electric organ. The previous year he had been on a camping holiday in the north with other lads. He was reported to be very competent in handling money. He bought all his own clothes in which he took a considerable interest. He did nothing to help in the house (and this fact reduced his total score on the combined scales) but this was not expected of him since there were plenty of adults in the home with no other employment, whereas he worked long and hard at the brickworks and was the family's only earher.

6. Another of these 3 boys had worked since leaving school for the National Coal Board as a mining apprentice. He was the youngest of nine surviving children, there had been twelve

in the family altogether. Two of his elder sisters, one single and one divorced, lived at home with the subject and his widowed mother and an elderly uncle. This lad was very much the man of the house and, like the previous one, was not expected to take much part in household tasks. He had a group of friends of his own age and sex and there was one particular boy with whom he had been friendly for years but he had no steady girl-friend as yet. He went dancing at the weekends. He was reported by his mother to be "mad on motor bikes" but she discouraged this as she considered them dangerous. He occasionally went to watch football matches but had given up attending the local youth club with whose members he used to travel to matches. One of his main interests wws fishing. His social life appeared to be rather less "active" than those of some of the young people with high ratings on the overall scale, he liked watching television and read the newspaper daily, but after a day's work underground, having left home at 6 a.m., he might well have been too tired to engage in energetic leisure pursuits.

7. This boy also came from a large family and most of his brothers and sisters were still living in the household. Three elder brothers and one elder sister were married but two of these lived nearby and, with their families, visited their parents each weekend. Two older brothers, three younger brothers and two younger sisters lived at home, which was an isolated stone farm cottage with very inadequate accommodation for them all. The subject's main companions

were his brothers, with whom he was reported to get on well, being neither a leader nor a follower. The father, who was clearly the chief authority in the family and had brought up his children strictly, told the interviewer, "You won't hear a fight around this house." The father had emigrated from Ireland twenty years before and, after a short period with Glasgow cleansing department, had settled as a farm worker and brought his family to join him. The boy's older brothers had all taken up farm work. On leaving school he had started work with horses, he was a good rider and light in weight and was being trained as a groom. However, after a year and ten months, he changed to work on another farm and, after a second change, settled with a poultry firm. His parents reported that he was entirely independent financially and kept his own savings. He passed the driving test within three years of leaving school and at the time of the interviews, he had just bought his own car. He showed it to the interviewer with great pride, telling her that he had paid £120 down payment on it out of his own savings and that he had managed to do several small repairs himself rather than "waste money" at a garage. He was budgeting himself for regular outgoings such as insurance and road tax. He felt that his present job had better prospects than the previous ones and spoke sensibly of the possibility of going on a day release course. He said it was his ambition to become assistant manager of one of the poultry firm's farms by the time he was twenty-five. In his spare time he went to see wrestling matches and

stockcar racing in various towns. He went to an occasional barn dance but could not dance properly. His main leisure activity was "football in the field" with his brothers and other local lads.

Among the 7 young people discussed in this section, 3 boys were from School C, 1 boy from School B, 1 boy from School F, 1 girl from School D and 1 girl from School A. Of these 7 subjects, 4 lived in country districts, 2 of them living on farms and 2 in rural villages, 1 lived in a pit village, 1 in a small industrial town on an estuary and 1 in the urban coastal area. Two left school in July 1966, 2 in February 1967 and 3 in July 1967.

The test results of the young people described in this section are shown in Table 4.25.

v) Poor social adjustment

In contrast to those described in the preceding section, 8 young people, 7 of them being girls, were rated at the lowest point on the five-point scale of overall social adjustment. All were unemployed. The boy and 2 of the girls had had short trials in employment but the 2 girls had worked for no more than two days each and the boy had had two jobs, each lasting two days. Of these 8 young people, 2 girls were attending Senior Occupation Centres, although one had been at home for a long time before her mother would permit her to attend. Another girl had attended a Centre but had left because she said the big boys bullied her. The boy had left the Centre he had been attending when he was

Subject	I.Q.	Reading Age	Arithmetic Age	Progressive Matrices	Vocabulary	Manchester Scales	Social Knowledge
1	62	7·2	9·67	32	30	85	32·00
2	65	7·8	7·00	28	24	55	20·50
3	79	6·7	8·00	25	35	77	32·25
4	65	6·9	7·00	17	21	69	27·00
5	68	10·1	9·33	25	25	76	31·75
6	71	10·1	10·50	24	17	78	32·00
7	68	7·9	8·33	25	22	77	22·00
Mean	68·3	8·10	8·55	25·00	24·85	73·86	28·21
Mean of all who took tests at 16	62·29	8·09	8·35	22·50	19·53	63·74	23·78

Table 4.25. Scores on pre-leaving tests of subjects who were subsequently rated highly on social adjustment.

admitted to a mental deficiency hospital. Of these 8 young people, 5 had physical disabilities. The boy was approximately five foot in height, 1 girl suffered from epilepsy, 1 was confined to a wheel chair, 1 had had a major operation to remove a brain tumour and 1 had eczema. The girl with epilepsy and the girl with a motor disability had slight speech difficulties, as did two other girls, and a fifth girl had a stammer which was very noticeable at times.

The 2 girls with the lowest rating on total social adjustment, i.e. all the scales combined, came from backgrounds that differed considerably.

1. The family of this girl was well-known to welfare workers. The author had been warned when testing the girl that her head was likely to be infested. However, the family had been rehoused during the research period and the interviewer's report indicated that home standards were then better than might have been expected from reports of the earlier home. The father, a dockyard worker, had died about eighteen months after the girl left school. Two brothers were in mental deficiency hospitals, two older sisters had attended, and two younger brothers were attending, special classes, and the youngest sibs, twins, were at primary school. This subject was never away from home without an adult companion for more than two hours and the longest journey she would take without escort was a ten-penny,(10d.), bus ride to see her grandfather. She had no friends of her own age but sometimes went out with

her older sisters and often took her younger siblings to a a children's playground. She belonged to no clubs or other organisations. At home she did a few simple household tasks but only under supervision, otherwise she simply pottered about, did a little gardening and played snap with her younger siblings. She could not read nor handle other than very small sums of money. She had spent a day in a factory where conditions were very poor but the owner had dismissed her when told he must pay her a proper wage. She did not attend the Senior Occupation Centre as her mother considered it to be too rough. She was rated 5 on all social adjustment scales except executive independence and household responsibilities on each of which she was rated 4.

2. The other girl who had the lowest rating on the total or combined social adjustment scales had two older sisters, both working, and a younger sister at an ordinary school. Her mother, who worked as a cleaner, was an attractive, smartly dressed, young-looking woman. When she was not working, she spent a great deal of time with the subject. The girl too always appeared neat and well cared for. She had a stammer, the severity of which varied. She had also had an eye operation at the age of seven and continued to wear glasses but when wearing them, she suffered no visual disability. This girl went only short distances from home and belonged to no clubs or organisations. She had no friends other than her sisters. At one time her sisters used to take her to church but they had discontinued

this as she tended to laugh aloud in the services. She occasionally did some baby-sitting for a neighbour in whose year-old child she took an interest. She sometimes read magazines or parts of books but, although she had a reading age of 9·1, she could not concentrate for long on reading, nor in fact on anything, not even television programmes. After her parents had turned down various suggestions from the Youth Employment Officer she eventually worked for one day in a paper mill but she had been sick and upset and frightened that the Youth Employment Officer might force her to go back (cf. Chapter 4Ax). She did not attend the Senior Occupation Centre because her mother had seen some of those who did and thought they looked "worse" than her daughter and might have an adverse effect on her. This girl was rated 5 on all social adjustment scales except household responsibilities on which she was rated 3.

3. Another girl from a home in which she was physically well cared for was rated at the lowest point on all the social adjustment scales except that for household responsibilities on which she was rated 2. Her mother refused to allow her to attend the Senior Occupation Centre as she maintained that travelling would be too difficult and the people there were too rough. This mother had resented the fact that her daughter had been recommended for special schooling, had never regarded the school favourably and, after her daughter left, had refused visits from the Mental Welfare Officer. The girl had never sought employment. She sometimes shopped at the village store but did not handle the

money herself. She never went anywhere alone except into the centre of the village where she lived. She was never away from home for more than an hour unless at the house of one of her two older sisters who were married with small children and lived nearby. She belonged to no organisations. Her mother said that she had never had friends as she was not a good mixer but she liked playing with little children. She look at papers and magazines (her reading age was 8.8), did a little sewing and watched television. She also helped a good deal with the housework without supervision. She did not cook but the mother took the blame for this as she did not encourage her to do so. This girl's officially recorded I.Q. was 49. She was one of the three subjects with recorded I.Qs below 50.

4. Another girl who was physically well cared for and who came from a home where material standards were considerably above the average for the research group did attend the Senior Occupation Centre. This girl suffered from cerebral palsy. Although she had had an operation on her legs at the age of five, this had not been successful so she was unable to walk or stand without help and spent most of her time in a wheelchair. She also had little use in her right hand, although she could do some knitting and could dry dishes if they were handed to her. She did not read at all. However, she regularly attended a club for spastics, was friendly with a girl at the Occupation Centre who had attended the same school and had a number of friendly acquaintances

through her mother and married sister. She was reported to be fond of small children and looked forward to the occasional afternoons when a neighbour's child came to play in her house. Although her general immaturity combined with her physical dependence resulted in her being rated at the lowest point on the overall social adjustment scale, she was rated 4 on social relationships, on participation in community activities and on satisfaction from leisure pursuits.

5. The only boy to be rated 5 on the overall social adjustment scale was very undersized. He had two trials in employment, each lasting only a couple of days. He then attended a Senior Occupation Centre and was there when Supervisors completed questionnaires on performance on sub-assembly work. His performance was reported to be very poor. After the deaths of an uncle and a former school friend who also attended the Centre, he was said to have become withdrawn and to wander off and walk for miles. Then he started to go daily with his mother to a new mental deficiency hospital where she was working. The Superintendent suggested he should live in the hospital. He was said to have been very disturbed when admitted but to have improved considerably in his first year. He was allowed out of the hospital between five and eight each evening and usually went into the nearby town, often alone, occasionally with other boys. He usually mixed well with boys who were physically small. He went to dances in the hospital and had a girl friend there on whom he spent his pocket money. He told

the interviewer, "She'll do, 'til I get out of here." At weekends he usually went home, travelling without escort. The nature of his family relationships was hard to determine. The Superintendent at the hospital had a different view from that of the Charge Nurse, one suggesting that his mother was over-protective, the other that she was rejecting and casual towards him. This boy's social adjustment was rated 5 on all scales except those of executive independence, social relationships and participation in community activities, on each of which he was rated 4.

6. One girl was rated at the lowest point, 5, on all the social adjustment scales except that of household responsibilities on which she was rated at the highest point, 1. This girl's mother, who worked as a waitress although she had been a nurse before marriage, had been a patient in a psychiatric hospital and was continually under medication. Her condition created tensions in the family and made it difficult for them to have contacts in the local community. The girl did a great deal of cooking and housework and when the mother was ill, which was frequently, the girl looked after her. She also did much of the shopping, although she did not check the change. The girl had two brothers, an older one who was a male nurse and a younger one who was a student nurse in the R.A.M.C. She also had two older half-siblings, children of the mother's first marriage. However, she spent very little time in the company of her siblings as none of them lived nearby and

they rarely visited. Her mother said that they had "always been ashamed of her." The girl had had an unsuccessful operation for the removal of a brain tumour at the age of five, followed by X-ray therapy, and she had lost the sight of one eye. However, she did not suffer from any obvious difficulties of co-ordination and the interviewer found her more articulate than most of the young people in the research group. The girl was never away from home for more than half-an-hour to an hour, unless at her grandmother's. She travelled nowhere, except occasionally on the bus to meet her father at his place of work. She never went to the cinema or to other places of entertainment even with an adult. She belonged to no organisations and had no friends. She did not like watching television much and did not read. A home teacher called regularly with handicraft materials and the girl spent some time in basket work and rug making. However, the parents felt she was poorly paid for her work, as she received two shillings (one shilling in the pound) for a tray and a similar rate for rugs if she sold them herself and two shillings one penny for two gross of skipping ropes. Her mother said that, when not occupied with housework or these crafts, she "just sits and stares into space."

7. This girl had two brothers working (one with a defective hand was registered as a disabled person), and three younger sisters, one working and two at primary school. The family lived in a one-storey furnished cottage of the old slum type near the docks. There were two bedrooms for

eight people. The interviewer reported that questions on household tasks seemed inapplicable to this family's way of life since it was unlikely that much cooking, cleaning or washing was done. Questions on whether the subject bought her own clothes also seemed irrelevant as the family probably wore only secondhand clothing. The girl's sight was poor. She had suffered from infantile eczema and was still troubled with skin disease, although her inability to get a job was probably less due to this than to her general lack of hygiene. She had attended the Senior Occupation Centre for approximately seven months but had left because she said the big boys bullied her. She belonged to no organisations and had no friends. She occasionally did baby-sitting for an aunt and uncle and sometimes went to matches, alone or with her young cousins. Otherwise she sat in the house, watching television or looking at magazines, or wandered the streets alone. The father was at first very hostile to the interviewer but eventually became quite friendly, inviting her to call again and saying that he would make more strenuous efforts to get his daughter a job. The girl was rated 5 on all the social adjustment scales except those of executive independence and household responsibilities on which she was rated 3.

8. The eighth subject to be rated 5 on the overall social adjustment scale was, however, rated 4 on social relationships, participation in community activities and satisfaction from leisure pursuits and 2 on household responsibilities. This girl suffered from epilepsy. She was physically big and

heavy but very immature mentally and emotionally. Her father had died when she was eighteen months old. She lived in a large sea-side house with her mother and grandmother who treated her much as one might a small child. The interviewer remarked that this appeared to be her emotional level and the treatment therefore seemed natural in the situation. The mother worked in an office. The girl's two brothers, both older than herself, were away from home, receiving further education. The mother had refused to allow her to attend the Senior Occupation Centre at first but after she had been out of school for two years, her mother had permitted her to do so. Apart from those she met at the Centre she had no friends of her own age but she was well-known in the village and talked to people there. She would go by herself to the village shop although she would have to take a list if fetching things for her mother. She could not check change, as she could understand money only up to ten shillings and that with difficulty. She would also go into the village café alone but could not travel beyond the village unaccompanied. She went to church on rare occasions with adults. She belonged to no clubs or organisations. She did a good deal of housework without supervision and some cooking. Her favourite activity was washing clothes. At other times she liked to listen to records or play indoor games with her mother and grandmother.

Of the 8 young people described in this section, 3 had attended School B, 2 had attended School A, 1 each had attended Schools C, D and E. There were 6 who had left

school in July 1966 and 2 who had left in July 1967.

Table 4.26 shows the test scores of those described in this section.

vi) a. Marriage

Of the 38 girls studied, 2 married within a year of leaving school. One of these married six months after leaving, the other eight months after. There were 6 other girls who married between two and three years after leaving and 1 boy who married four years afterwards. All these girls had been in regular employment up to the time of marriage or the beginning of pregnancy. Several continued to work after marriage.

There were 4 girls who continued to live in their previous homes after marriage. In 2 cases their husbands lived there with them, in 1 case the husband was in the navy and posted to southern England and in 1 case the husband left the girl after living with her for two short periods in her parents' home. A girl and her husband who had lived in a flat returned to her parents' home when the tenant of the flat was evicted.

At the time of their marriages 3 of the girls were pregnant. In all three cases the husbands were young, 2 being eighteen and 1 seventeen. In 2 of the cases in which the girl was pregnant she continued to live in the parental home and in 1 case she returned there. There was a fourth case in which the girl may have been pregnant before marriage, as her first child was born eight months after the wedding.

Subject	I.Q.	Reading Age	Arithmetic Age	Progressive Matrices	Vocabulary	Manchester Scales	Social Knowledge
1	54	6·2	6·00	13	12	35	7·00
2	63	9·1	6·75	15	17	47	15·75
3	49	8·8	6·33	21	17	52	9·75
4	62	6·0	6·58	15	14	17	17·25
6	65	5·9	7·33	26	20	46	16·50
7	57	7·9	6·17	19	15	50	17·50
8	67	8·9	5·83	14	17	42	10·25
Mean	59·57	7·54	6·43	17·57	16·00	41·29	13·43
Mean of all who took tests at 16	62·29	8·09	8·35	22·50	19·53	63·74	23·78

Table 4.26. Scores on the pre-leaving tests of subjects who were subsequently given a low rating on social adjustment.

Note: The case described as 5 in this section was not tested before leaving school.

It was reported that the baby was born prematurely after the girl had fallen downstairs. Although this story may have been told to disguise the true situation, it may equally well have been true. This girl had been engaged to her prospective husband for some months before the wedding.

In 2 cases girls appeared to have made disastrously unhappy marriages, although it must be emphasised that in neither case was it possible to obtain the husband's version of events. In 1 case little information was obtained about the marriage as both the girl and her mother were somewhat unresponsive when interviewed. In the other 6 cases the marriage appeared to have a chance of success although there were unstable elements in the circumstances of each case.

1. The girl who married six months after leaving school was the child of elderly parents and had a brother and sister both over twenty years older than herself. She took considerable interest in her young nephews and nieces, one of whom had had treatment in a psychiatric hospital. Her mother had suffered from a depressive illness before the girl's birth and on occasions throughout her childhood and had spent periods receiving ECT and other treatment in a psychiatric hospital. During these periods the girl had carried a considerable burden of domestic responsibility. Her father, who died two years later, was said to have been upset at her marrying so young, although both parents liked her husband and raised no objections to the marriage. The husband, who

had not been happy at home, had joined the army at the age of fifteen. He was twenty-one when the wedding took place. Immediately afterwards he was posted to Germany where the couple had a flat in the house of a German woman who befriended the girl, helped her with budgeting, shopping and household management and with the care of her baby daughter who was born eight months later. Three years afterwards the husband bought himself out of the army and returned to England where he apparently had some difficulty at first in obtaining employment as a bar steward. Later the couple, who by now had two little girls, returned to their home town in Scotland where the husband had a job in hotel management. The interviewer reported that when she met him, he was smartly dressed and talked sensibly about his family and his prospects, The girl and her mother described him as "a very understanding man". The subject herself was said to be very competent domestically, cooked and kept house well and took good care of her two children who had clean clothes every day. Her mother feared, however, that she might expect too much from the children as she was strict with them and, being almost obsessively clean and tidy, set high standards of cleanliness and behaviour for her three year old. It was reported that during her adolescence, when distressed by her mother's illness, the girl had worked off her feelings by bouts of activity in the house, tidying and moving furniture about. She said that she found people less friendly in her home town than in Germany or in the English town where she had lived for a

short time and made friends easily (a surprising observation to the interviewer and the author, both of whom had lived in southern England and in this Scottish county). She said that in Scotland her neighbours criticised her because she washed every day.

2. The second girl to marry was the youngest of eight children. She had four married sisters and a married brother living away from the parents' home and two unmarried sisters still living at home, one with four children, the other with one child. The girl was pregnant when she married and her baby daughter was born shortly afterwards. She was said to have known her husband, a miner, for a year before their marriage. He was the same age as herself, seventeen, when they married. Two years later he was reported to be earning £17 per week. At first the couple lived in a flat but the tenant of the house was evicted, partly because he had taken sub-tenants without permission, and they went to live with the girl's parents. The accommodation there was inadequate and there was considerable antagonism in the household towards the local authority because the young couple had not been offered alternative housing. They had saved to buy a houseful of furniture which was in store at an uncle's home. In the parent's home the girl had maintained some measure of independence and continued to shop and cook separately for herself, her husband and baby. She was anxious to get a place of her own and had personally seen a local councillor and telephoned the Housing Officer. The interviewer reported that her two-year-

old daughter looked dirty but was not smelly and appeared cared for underneath the dirt. The subject watched her when she went too near the door or the fire and spoke sensibly and affectionately about her. The girl had had three confinements in two years, all of the babies being premature and the last two having died within twelve hours of birth. The doctor had told her she must wait several years before having another child. Although she was said to "keep well", her medical records (unknown to the interviewer) contained reference to kidney trouble and the interviewer reported that she was pale with dark circles under he eyes.

3. Of the 6 girls who married between two and three years after leaving, very little is known about the marriage of one. The wedding took place two years and two months after she left school. The girl had worked in one job throughout the two-year employment follow-up period. She left her job about the time of her marriage but resumed work a few months later. Her husband, who was twenty-three when they married, was then a scrapyard worker but later became a bus conductor. The couple lived on their own in a flat and the girl apparently ran the home quite competently.

Two of the girls had made marriages that were obviously unhappy:

4. This was a girl with very low attainments who was also hard of hearing, who had nevertheless managed to work steadily in one factory job, earning £7-£10 per week, throughout the two-year follow-up period. She could scarcely read at

all and could not reckon but was reported to be good at house-housework. A girl with few friends of her own and no previous boyfriends she had met her prospective husband at the home of her parents' friends. He was twenty-two and had been a steelworker and a miner. His stepmother was said to have turned him out of his father's house. After a short time he and the subject decided to marry. Her parents tried to discourage the match, but they told the interviewer that when they had seen that their daughter was set on it, they had spent all their savings, £200, on a white wedding and a reception at an hotel. The marriage took place two years and ten days after the girl left school. The couple lived at the home of the girl's parents where accommodation was very inadequate. The parents reported that the family had previously been harmonious but that after the husband moved in, they all began to quarrel among themselves. According to the parents, the husband was physically cruel and hit the girl on many occasions. He would not give her money and spent their honeymoon savings on a new suit. She, who was normally placid, was on one occasion provoked into hitting him on the head with a poker and drawing blood. The girl's father, who was also said by the mother to be a peaceable, easy-going man, was stirred to uncharacteristic anger by the husband and threatened to give him three blows for every one he gave his daughter. After living there with the girl for eight weeks, the husband walked out. He returned later to spend another eight weeks with her but left again, apparently permanently,

six months after the wedding. The family had only a poste restante address in London as an indication of his whereabouts. At the time the research was completed they had seen a solicitor and the girl had made application for a divorce. The parents, who sounded sincere in recounting the story to the interviewer but whose version could not be checked, regarded their son-in-law as a "head case".

5. The parents of another girl also regarded their son-in-law as unbalanced. This girl too had worked steadily in one job throughout the two-year follow-up but her home background had been less stable than that of the previous girl. Her parents were separated and lived apart for several years during her childhood. She was the eldest of four and she and her brothers and sister had been shared out between the mother and grandparents. Shortly before she left school, her parents were reconciled and the family brought together in one household. More recently, however, the mother had been a patient at a psychiatric hospital. Both parents seemed to be affectionate towards the girl. Though somewhat brighter and more socially alert than the previous subject, she was said not to have gone out with boys before meeting her prospective husband, despite being popular with her brother's friends when they came to the house. The parents said that she had had a fear of men since she witnessed indecent exposure by a tramp when she was six years old. They had mentioned this to the husband and, as far as they knew, it had not interfered with the marital relationship. The parents

tried to prevent the marriage, as they did not like the young man, but they said that their daughter had been infatuated with him. There was a white wedding with a hundred guests on the bride's side but the husband "could only muster two." He was twenty-four when they married. He had been working as a station porter but gave up his job at the time of the marriage. He persuaded the girl to give up her job too, as he thought he would get a larger Social Security benefit if she was not working. Two months after the wedding he was sent to prison for three months. While there he wrote to the subject saying that he wanted to get the marriage annulled because he suspected she was pregnant by another man. According to her parents there was no truth whatever in this accusation, she had never been pregnant and had not associated with anyone else. She went to see him in prison and he wept and they were reconciled. While he was away, a new house was allocated to them in a nearby town and the girl's parents furnished it. However, when he was discharged, he was restless and dissatisfied. A couple of months later he obtained employment in England, packing television valves, so he and his wife moved south, but he was soon out of work again. At the time of the interviews the girl was working in a Supermarket. Although she was then earning the money, he was said to control the expenditure. Her parents maintained that he bought such things as expensive record-playing equipment when she had no decent shoes. He wanted to have a child but, although very fond of children, she refused to have one until

they were more settled. As it was not possible to obtain the husband's account, the validity of this story could not be properly assessed, but it was obvious that the marriage was far from satisfactory.

The three married girls not yet discussed were all still living with their parents or grandparents:

6. In this case, the interviewer reported that marriage appeared to have made little difference to the girl's way of life at home, although she had given up work because of her pregnancy. In early infancy this girl had been taken from her parents by Court order because of their neglect. When she was about two months old her grandparents had taken her from a Children's Home and had looked after her ever since. After leaving school, she worked in one factory job throughout the two-year follow-up period. She left her job four months later because she was feeling unwell, presumably because of her pregnancy. She married two years and seven months after leaving school. Her husband, who was eighteen when they married, was a trainee chef in the Royal Navy, and still had nine years to serve. The girl had known him for eight months before the wedding at which time he was stationed at the nearby Government Dockyard. Shortly afterwards, however, he was posted to the south coast of England. The girl continued to live in the grandparents' home, "placidly looking forward to the baby." She told the interviewer that she thought it would be best if her husband continued to be based in the south and she went on living with

her grandparents indefinitely. As there had apparently been no trouble between the young couple and the grandparents approved of the husband, the interviewer enquired about her reasons for this view, but the girl replied placidly, "It's best if husbands work away from home." However, she had twice visited her husband's family in Shropshire and, although nervous at first, had come to feel at ease with them all.

7. This girl came from a family in which the father had not worked for three years and might never do so again because of a serious back disability which had necessitated a major operation. The girl had two older sisters, one still at home and one married and living elsewhere, and two brothers, an older one married and away from home and a younger one still at school. She had worked throughout the two years after school leaving, mainly in one factory job, although she did try another job in a factory for a short time before returning to her original employer. She had known her prospective husband for a year and two months before the wedding. He was eighteen and a worker in a lemonade factory where he hoped to become a driver. According to a report made to the author in August 1969, the girl planned to marry in September, but for some reason unknown the couple did not marry until the following April, at which time the girl was five months pregnant. The parents approved of their son-in-law whom they described as a nice boy who fitted into the family well. After the wedding the couple lived in the

girl's parents' home, where even before this the accommodation had been inadequate. The girl and her husband had one bedroom, the brother and sister at home shared another room and the parents slept in the sitting room. The housing department was aware of their problems but the family felt there was little chance of alternative accommodation being offered to any of them. Apparently the young couple could have lived with the husband's parents but the girl did not want to leave her mother. The interviewer suspected that this was because of the mother's needs rather than her own, because the girl appeared considerably brighter and more competent than the mother who obviously depended on her a good deal in the running of the household. The family had no doubt that the girl could manage a home of her own, as she could budget, cook and perform household tasks adequately and was fond of babies. The interviewer reported that she seemed self-reliant and confident and talked sensibly about the coming baby and her plans for the future.

8. The eighth girl who married before the research was completed suffered from epilepsy. She had an older sister and a twin sister, both of whom married and moved away from home before she did. Her mother, who had herself been a High School pupil, very much resented the fact that her daughter had been sent to a special class and tended to attribute to this any problems that the family had. She asserted that it had had an adverse effect on the girl's character, making her less good-natured, and that it had also made life difficult for the twin who had been teased in the

street because her sister attended the special class. She had always insisted that her daughter could cope quite well without visits or assistance from social workers or health visitors. Despite her additional disability, the girl in fact had a fairly good employment record. Her overall employment adjustment rating was 3. She had changed jobs twice in the first two years after leaving but in each case to improve her prospects and almost certainly on her mother's prompting. The girl married a nineteen-year-old miner with whom she had been friendly for four years. She was said to have had few other friends. According to her mother other boys had been "put off" when they heard that she had attended a special class. She was the only one of the three sisters to have a large white wedding. The young couple lived with the girl's parents and the girl had continued to work. She still had fits, which the drugs she took could not prevent, once a month when menstruating. She and her husband hoped to have their own home and her mother was confident that she could run it and that her husband would cope with the problem of her epilepsy.

9. The only boy to marry within the research period had been upgraded and left school at fifteen. His upgrading appeared to be due to the fact that he was a big lad who was already doing part-time farm work and whose behaviour in school was becoming somewhat difficult, rather than to the superiority of his ability or attainments. At the age of thirteen, he had been put on Probation for two years for

housebreaking but he completed his period of probation satisfactorily and the Probation Officer thought the chances of his committing further criminal acts were not high. He came from a home which various social workers described as dirty, unkempt and "typical of the squalid cottar homes of Dickensian times." The normal family pattern was said to be that of big meals, little washing and general untidiness. He had various jobs, mainly of the farm labouring type. Although records were kept of these, it proved impossible to obtain precise dates for his job changes and he is therefore the only boy whose record is not included in the figures given in Tables 4.1 and 4.3. Job changing appeared to be normal in this family and the lad was seldom out of work. When the job performance rating was carried out, the coal merchant who employed him at the time gave him quite a good report on the basis of which Youth Employment Officers rated his performance 2·89, but his mother reported that he was eventually sacked from this job and returned to farm work. Four years after leaving school, he married a girl a year older than himself. His wife had a three-year-old illegitimate daughter whom he accepted and allowed to be known by his name. Shortly after marriage he took a farm job with which a cottage was provided but the place was rotten with damp so he moved to another farm. His wife worked on farms, plucking poultry. He was said to be quite handy in the home, he had prepared breakfast for his family for years (standards were unlikely to have been high) and he would help with washing

and cleaning and would bath his step-daughter.

The boy and 3 of the girls who married had attended School E which was situated in one of the large burghs and had the most urban catchment area of the six schools. Another 4 of the girls had attended School D which was situated in the other large burgh. The 1 other girl who married had attended School B which was also in an urban area.

The test scores of the girls who married during the research period are shown in Table 4.27. The girl who married within the shortest time of leaving school had obtained a higher score than any other girl on the Manchester Scales. The other girl who married within one year of leaving had obtained the second highest score among the girls on the Manchester Scales (one other girl had the same score). The mean scores of these girls are very much depressed by the inclusion of case 4. This subject was hard of yearing which doubtless affected her vocabulary score. Her hearing loss may have played some part in her low score on the Manchester Scales and the test of social knowledge, although the tester did her best to establish that the questions had been heard. Her performance on the tests which were less dependent on hearing was also poor.

b. Illegitimate Births

Of the 38 girls whose progress was followed, 1 had an illegitimate child before the research ended. This girl had an extremely disturbed background. Her father deserted

Subject	I.Q.	Reading Age	Arithmetic Age	Progressive Matrices	Vocabulary	Manchester Scales	Social Knowledge
1	61	7·6	8·58	27	24	82	29·50
2	62	7·8	9·67	21	23	80	27·25
3	69	9·7	8·83	27	23	64	28·00
4	59	5·5	5·83	18	9	41	9·50
5	62	8·3	7·50	21	26	61	29·00
6	61	7·6	7·58	15	18	72	23·50
7	54	7·7	8·75	20	17	71	18·75
8	56	7·7	8.00	17	20	65	23·25
Mean	60·50	7·74	8·09	20·75	20·00	67·00	23·59
Mean of all who took tests at 16	62·29	8·09	8·35	22·50	19·53	63·74	23·78

Table 4.27. Scores on pre-leaving tests of girls who married within three years of leaving school.

her mother when the subject was about five or six years old. There were two brothers, one year and three years younger than the girl herself. During the girl's childhood the mother suffered from mental illness. In a recent interview she described herself as having been a nervous wreck after her husband's desertion and about this time she spent three months in a psychiatric hospital, but she had already had treatment for depression in a similar hospital after the birth of her youngest child. At the age of five, when the family was living in Wales, the girl had been referred to the School Health Service as being listless and unable to concentrate. She suffered from insomnia and was beginning to pilfer. The psychiatrist reported that the mother's illness was affecting the child and said he had gained the impression that the mother "required this child to be ill and thought of her in terms of being mentally ill." Six years later when the family had moved to Scotland, her teacher reported that the girl was never seen smiling, often cried and seemed to live in a world of her own. A year later she was admitted to a special class for mentally handicapped children from which she was referred for psychiatric investigation because her mother said that the child kept hitting her and would not get up in the mornings. The psychiatrist's first impression was that both mother and daughter were psychotic. He considered that treatment for the girl was essential and arranged for her to be admitted to an adolescent unit. While there, she gained weight and improved in

cheerfulness but three months later her mother took her home and subsequent efforts to treat her appear to have been frustrated by her failure to keep appointments. The girl and her brother were poor school attenders. The mother was brought before the defaulters' sub-committee on this account but their poor attendance continued to be a problem. On the occasions when the author visited the school, she was given dark hints by the staff about this family's way of life and dubious moral standards. The girl was rumoured to stay out to all hours of night. The girl's own responses to the social adaptation test appeared to belie this. Her answers would have given the impression that control at home was strict, that she had little social life and was never allowed out late with boys. The author was conscious, however, of a strong feeling of constraint in her response. She was exceedingly polite, remote and unnaturally neat. A slim, mature-looking girl, her appearance emphasised the impression of coldness, as she was dressed in a black skirt and immaculately white jumper, her black hair was meticulously arranged and her face was made up to a deathly whiteness, except for the eyes to which a great deal of black eye make-up had been carefully applied. Although she left school with an official I.Q. of 58, her reading age was considerably higher than the average for the research group, and she gave some unexpectedly mature responses during the vocabulary test. After she left school, her employment record was poor, a few short periods of factory work and potato picking. Sixteen months after she left school her

daughter was born. Interviewed approximately two years later, the girl's mother said that her granddaughter's father was an army bandsman. She expected the interviewer to have heard of him because there had been a local scandal a few months earlier when he committed suicide. The baby had then been about eighteen months old. The girl's mother said that his suicide had had no connection with her daughter as there had never been any question of a marriage between them. She reported, however, that after his death, the girl, who had been depressed since her baby's birth, "went wild", took to drinking and going round with an undesirable group of girls. At the time of the interview she was said to have settled down, stopped drinking and acquired a steady boy-friend, a seventeen-year-old welder. The interviewer, however, gained the impression that she was still very disturbed and depressed. She seemed scarcely aware of her two-year-old daughter as she ran in and out of the room and never mentioned her in conversation. The little girl, who was beautifully dressed and immaculately clean with highly polished shoes, appeared to be cared for almost entirely by her grandmother.

This subject had attended School E, the school which had been attended by 4 of the 9 married subjects.

vii) Delinquency

Before the study ended, 2 subjects were committed to institutions as a result of criminal acts. Both were boys, 1 was committed to several penal institutions for varying periods of time and 1 was committed indefinitely, first to a mental deficiency hospital and then to the State Mental Hospital at Carstairs. There was 1 other subject who made a Court appearance during the follow-up period. He was convicted two months after leaving school and put on Probation for one year.

There were 2 boys who had served periods of Probation while still at school who did not make Court appearances during the follow-up period. The police had issued an official warning to 1 other boy when he was eight years old but there was no report of further trouble in his case. Another 1 was warned for stealing at the age of thirteen but no trouble was recorded during the follow-up.

The School Medical Officer's report mentioned that 1 girl, with her younger brother, had been brought to the attention of a Probation Officer by the police shortly before she was due to leave school. As this was apparently not an official action, there were no detailed records, but the probability is that the police had seen these young people hanging about the streets with undesirable companions and had wished to prevent their getting into trouble.

The employers of 1 girl moved her to another department following incidents of pilfering but this was not reported to the police, the girl remained with the firm until shortly

before her marriage and there was no indication of further trouble.

As the numbers are too small for useful statistical analysis, the author has concentrated on presenting the case histories of the young people concerned. Most of these cases have already been discussed elsewhere. The following notes should therefore be read in conjunction with the information already given about them.

1. The work record of this boy has been discussed in Chapter 4Aix4. He was the oldest of five boys, all of whom had made at least one Court appearance. Although physically healthy and well-built, he tended to mix with younger boys and most of his delinquent acts were committed in the company of one or more of his brothers. Various incidents were reported during his childhood, including stealing milk tokens, when he was caught in the act by a policeman, and killing some cockerels "for fun". His behaviour in school was generally fairly good, although at the age of thirteen he had taken and hidden forty-seven reading books because he "did not like them". Shortly afterwards he was involved with another boy from the special class (Chapter 4Aix2 and 4Bvii3) in pilfering fruit and sweets. A few days later, with this boy and one of his brothers, he visited Woolworths and stole a wallet. His mother took the boys and the wallet to school and a policeman visited the home at the mother's request to warn the boy. Charges were dropped on the decision of the Procurator Fiscal. The

mother also went to the police after the subject and his brother had stolen meat from a van in a garage. One brother, two years younger than the subject and said to be the most troublesome of the family, was committed by Court order to a Mental Deficiency Institution for a period, much to the distress of his teachers who were appalled to think of him shut up with older, low-grade defectives. There was no record of deviant behaviour on the part of either of the parents. The father was in regular work as a miner and, according to the school, tried to do his best by taking his sons fishing and to football matches. The mother appeared rather low in intelligence and was not in good health, having had a serious operation soon after the subject's birth and an operation for sterilization after the birth of her youngest son. She had had seven boys and one girl, but three, including the girl, had died in infancy. Not surprisingly, she always seemed tired and was unable to control the boys who were known throughout the neighbourhood for their destructive behaviour and bad language when challenged. The police called at the house if anything in the locality were missing. The subject was a good worker in school and when he left, his teacher hoped that he would do fairly well, although she recognised that careful guidance would be needed. (At this time it was noted that the mother was too permissive and somewhat despised by the subject, although a report four years earlier had said that mother regarded the father as too lenient.)

However, after a series of jobs that offered him little challenge, the boy was accused, with his brother, of killing a cow in a particularly unpleasant way and was sent to a Detention Centre for three months. After his release, he worked for three months before being paid off for insolence and shortly afterwards made a further Court appearance, being sent first to a Remand Home and then for Borstal training. He was interviewed after his return home and he spoke with some pride of what a good worker he had been there, mainly occupied in car-washing and gardening, and of how well he had done in athletics. He knew of no facilities that would enable him to continue to take part in athletics now that he was home. His leisure pursuits were watching matches, playing street football, drinking in public houses, playing machines in cafés and betting on horse racing. He had no girl friends as he said he preferred to keep his money to himself. When interviewed, his mother did not attempt to justify or blame but spoke freely of her sons' delinquent activities with a kind of wondering incomprehension. She said that for years she and their father had tried to understand the boys but had now given up, as they saw no way of altering them and felt they were old enough to run their own lives.

2. This boy has been described in Chapter 4Aix6. He was illegitimate, his mother being barely seventeen when he was born. When he was two years old, his mother, who was pregnant again, married a man twenty-three years older than herself who was said not to have been the subject's father.

The family lived in a room in the house of his maternal grandmother. When he was four, his mother and step-father and their two baby daughters moved to a pit village some miles away but the boy remained with his grandmother to whom he was primarily attached. He started school near his grandmother's home and no trouble was reported. However, when he was six, his grandmother died and he went to live with his mother and stepfather who by then had two girls and a boy. They lived in a two-roomed N.C.B. house in a condemned row, most of which was empty. Apparently the boy was soon in trouble at his new school and at the age of eight he was seen by an Assistant Medical Officer following reports of his lying, stealing and truancy. The A.M.O., who found him a quiet, pleasant child in the interview but accepted that he s tole and lied, recommended that he should be sent to a school for maladjusted pupils. He assessed his I.Q. as 74. He was told that such schools catered only for children of average and above average intelligence and it was therefore agreed that the boy's delinquency was "probably due to his lack of educational attainments" and he was recommended for transfer to a special class for the mentally handicapped. A month later the Head of his primary school was requesting that his transfer should be treated as urgent as his behaviour was deteriorating and the Head feared that sooner or later he would appear in Court. He was excluded from school and shortly afterwards enrolled at a special class. A week later he appeared at the Juvenile Court, accused of stealing a bicycle. He was put on Probation for two years but

immediately after his return home he stole another bicycle. At the special school he was reported to be no trouble in class but unpopular with the other children, fanciful and given to telling lies. His Probation Officer reported that he wandered and was seen in the streets at 1 a.m. The following year he took a five-pound note from a woman who used to see him to the bus, following which he made a second appearance in Court. The case was discharged on condition that his probation continued. His Probation Officer, who asked about the possibility of his removal from home, was told "with facilities at present available there is no alternative arrangement we can make in a case of this sort but to bring this boy forward for possible admission to a Mental Deficiency Institution." Four months later he was seen by the Superintendent of such an institution. Two days afterwards he was admitted to a home for disturbed children where he was said to have been "quiet and biddable" and to have seemed contented, but less than three weeks later his mother removed him, saying that he was unhappy. Another four months later his Probation Officer reported that he was still causing concern to the police and his parents, absconding from home and stealing money. He made a third Court appearance for breaking his Probation and stealing from an eight-year-old girl. He was sent to a Remand Home and his name put on the urgent waiting list for the Mental Deficiency Institution. Four months afterwards he was reported to be in the care of the Children's Department, living at a Children's Home and attending a different special class. He

was said to be very troublesome at the Home and the Children's Officer was asking for his admission to a Mental Deficiency Institution to be speeded up. Eventually, a few days before his eleventh birthday, he was admitted. (By this time his mother and stepfather had five children.) In the institution he was described as "vicious and dangerous", he was put on tranquillizing drugs and excluded from the hospital school. Three years after his admission, his mother removed him against medical advice, after complaining to her local councillor that he was getting no education and was often kept in bed as a punishment. The Children's Department was said to have been in sympathy with the mother. The boy was re-enrolled at the special classes he had first attended. His teachers, who felt that he had had a wretched childhood and were anxious to help him, asked that he should be referred for psychiatric treatment. They again reported that he was not troublesome when working in class, but a continual nuisance in the playground. He had stolen from the purse of a friend's mother and had run off from school after being reprimanded for interfering with a girl. They were told that there was no point in referring him for psychiatric treatment, the only thing was to have him brought to Court with a view to his re-admission to a Mental Deficiency Institution as a compulsory patient. At about this time, the author saw the boy, who was then fifteen, at school and tested him. Despite the deficiencies of his education, his arithmetic attainment score was above the average for the research group and he performed particularly well on the

Coloured Progressive Matrices. Seven months later he appeared in Court on charges of theft and of phoning the Fire Brigade without proper cause. At this time the Probation Officer was also supervising one of his younger brothers. The subject was sent to an Approved School. While there, he twice failed to return on time from leave and on both occasions committed further criminal acts. The first time he broke into two houses, ostensibly on the suggestion of another Approved School pupil whom he had met at the station when returning to school, and he was also accused of assaulting and sexually interfering with a six-year-old girl. On the second occasion he was said to have assaulted and stolen from an older girl. The school psychiatrist felt that he was a boy of very dull intelligence who was easily bullied and readily influenced adversely by stronger inmates. The report of the boy's most recent Probation Officer had said that both the boy's parents were fond of children and did their utmost to provide for the subject. The school psychiatrist, however, like the boy's previous teachers, thought that he was rejected at home. He received no correspondence from home for months at a time. The psychiatrist wrote that if the boy were to be simply discharged from Approved School, he would be unlikely to get any real support or security from his inadequate and disturbed home situation. He felt that he continued to require institutional training of the kind that could more appropriately be offered by a hospital for defectives. However, there were no vacancies in such hospitals in the area. In

the only place in which there was any prospect of a vacancy he would have been among the low-grade defectives and older men. (A new hospital was being built in the county.) Therefore at the age of seventeen he was discharged to live at home. He had several jobs, some of the changes being outside his control, and he distinguished himself by prompt action in a factory fire. However, a year and two months after leaving Approved School, he was committed by Court order to the recently opened mental deficiency hospital. The following year he absconded while home on licence to attend a sister's wedding, and was later committed to the State Mental Hospital at Carstairs.

3. This boy's case has been described in Chapter 4Aix2 and 4Bi. He was deserted by his mother soon after his birth. She was made to take him back when he was a year old but she neglected him and he was returned to his paternal grandmother. He showed signs of emotional disturbance and difficult behaviour while still a small child. His father remarried a widow with a son a little younger than his own boy. The relationship between the subject and his stepmother was a difficult one and there was always tension in the household. When the subject was eight years old, he was warned by the police following a charge of malicious mischief. He had been transferred to a special class at the age of seven. His teachers there found him a dreamer, untruthful and infuriatingly slow and "lazy" but not unlikeable. When he was twelve his father and stepmother had

another son. At the age of thirteen the subject was charged with another boy from the same school (Chapter 4Aix4 and 4Bvii1) with shoplifting after stealing fruit and sweets, but the Procurator Fiscal decided to take no further proceedings in view of the accused's mental handicap and the trivial nature of the offence. At about this time it was reported to the Children's Department that neighbours had found the boy sleeping in outhouses in the early hours of the morning, having been locked out of the house while his parents were out. According to his stepmother he could not be trusted in the house because he would go through her personal possessions and was continually pilfering. When the author saw the boy at school she formed the impression that he was very anxious and that this slowed down his reactions and responses and also caused him to appear careless. Two months after he left school, he was charged in the Juvenile Court with the theft of a pedal cycle and put on Probation for two years. As described earlier, he had a succession of jobs before taking a vacancy in a Senior Occupation Centre. His probation period was completed without a further Court appearance. He was nineteen when his home was visited by the independent assessor of social adjustment. His stepmother said that he still stole cigarettes or money if these were left lying around and she still had to lock doors to prevent him from looking through her belongings. Recently he had stolen £1 from her purse and hidden it under the carpet. She said that he frequently stole food, chocolate biscuits from the cupboard

and meat or cheese from the refrigerator, and she had taken to charging him for stolen food from his pocket money. She complained of the size of his appetite. By this time he had three half-siblings and she was afraid to let him near them because he hit them and she feared he would have an evil influence upon them. She spoke of the possibility of getting him into a mental deficiency hospital. The son of her previous marriage was established in the father's business. The father said that he might take the subject into the business one day and was trying to teach him a bit about it but he would have to show some aptitude for it. The stepmother's obvious antagonism towards the subject made it difficult for the interviewer to assess how justified she was in her complaints against him. The father seemed unwilling to be drawn into any discussion of the matter. The young man, who was interviewed at his father's work-place, presented a rather different picture of his social life, but he was diffident and so anxious to please that it was hard for the interviewer to assess the validity of responses and to adjudicate between his version and his step-mother's.

4. A description of this boy's case is to be found in Chapter 4Aix3. He was the youngest of five, having two brothers and two sisters. When he was nine months old his father died. A year later his mother was remarried to a man twenty years her senior. The step-father was reported to be very harsh with his wife's children and, as the boy grew, he was said to swear at him often and knock him about.

At the age of eight and again when he was ten the boy spent periods in hospital for the treatment of sinusitis. He was said to have become restless and destructive, to have tantrums and to chew string and wool. From earliest childhood he was reported to have a tendency to wander, a lack of concern or care for himself and an inability to make friends. When he was ten and a half he was put on Probation following a charge of theft. At that stage he was still very dependent on his mother and used often to follow her around. She was reported to be "near to a breakdown." He was sent for three months to the children's unit of a psychiatric hospital. His I.Q. was then assessed as 74 (later it was reassessed as 76). His mother resisted the idea of sending him to a class for mentally handicapped pupils, where she said he would be disruptive, and his teachers agreed with her on the grounds that his intelligence was not low enough. A few months after his discharge from the psychiatric unit, he was again reported to be unmanageable, threatening to steal or to do himself harm. The psychiatrist recommended his removal from home but was informed by the School Medical Officer that it was "not usual to provide residential education for children who are educationally subnormal." There followed a wrangle between various departments as to whose responsibility the boy was. The Children's Department was unwilling to take him into care but the psychiatrist urged the School Medical Officer to speed up negotiations with the Children's Department as there was a severe risk of the mother's suicide if nothing were done. The boy was readmitted to the psychiatric unit shortly afterwards and a

week later was placed in an orphanage. He remained in the orphanage for a year and two months. Then a sister, two years older than himself, who was an epileptic, was sent away to a special hospital. The Children's Department brought the subject back home and he was enrolled at the special school for mentally handicapped pupils. He was then twelve years old. However, the following month he was again referred to the psychiatrist who was worried at his return home and felt he should remain away until he was sixteen. The Head of the orphanage was willing to re-admit him as he had been making good progress when he was removed, but the place could not be taken up while the argument over departmental responsibility for him continued and eventually no action was taken. At about this time his epileptic sister, then fifteen, attempted to commit suicide by taking a drug overdose. The author found no further record of his case until a few months before he was due to leave school. The Head of the school complained of his difficult behaviour, terrorizing other children, pilfering and distressing the domestic staff. He was again referred to the psychiatrist who thought he might have been affected by his mother's depression which followed the death of his maternal grandfather. The boy remained at school until his normal leaving date. When the author saw him, she noted that although his I.Q. and vocabulary score were well above the average for the research group, his reading was extremely poor. His reading age just before he left school at sixteen was only 5·9. After leaving he had a

succession of jobs as described in Chapter 4Aix3. When he was sixteen, the situation at home was greatly relieved because his step-father walked out and went away, apparently permanently. However, when interviewed for the purposes of this research (at which time the subject was nearly twenty), the mother said that she was extremely worried. She told the interviewer that the young man was spending a great deal of time drinking in public houses with his friends, that he ran up bills at the shops and that if she refused when he tried to borrow money from her, he flew into violent tempers and was abusive to her. He did not get on well with an older brother who was living at home. The mother herself had been taking librium tablets for the past ten years. On her second visit, the interviewer found the situation less tense and felt that in her anxiety the mother had probably exaggerated the subject's faults. He himself had a quiet friendly manner that made it hard to imagine him in one of his violent tempers. Like cases 1 and 3 in this section, he was smartly dressed, neat in his appearance and pleasant in manner towards her. He spoke of his succession of jobs but claimed he had been fired only once. Although a good-looking young man, he, and his mother, said that he had no girl friends.

5. This boy has been discussed in Chapter 4Bvia9. Both his natural parents were alive and at home throughout the research period and he appeared to have a reasonably affectionate relationship with them. He was the third in a family of three boys and one girl. The troublesome member of the

family, according to the parents, was his brother who was a year younger and also a subject of this study (Chapter 4Aix5). The parents appeared to a Medical Officer to be of low intelligence and the family lived in squalid conditions in a farm cottage. At the age of thirteen, this subject was placed on Probation for two years following a plea of guilty to charges of housebreaking and attempted opening of lockfast places with intent to steal. His Probation Officer found him quite docile and was surprised by reports of difficult and aggressive behaviour in school a few months before the probation period was due to end. He was seen by a psychiatrist who recommended no treatment as he felt the lad's behaviour was not abnormal but simply reflected the inadequacy of his home and the difficulties of a healthy, physically mature adolescent in adapting to school routine and discipline. He recommended that the boy should be allowed to leave at the age of fifteen and shortly afterwards he was upgraded and left to take up farm work in which he had already been working part-time for a considerable period. He concluded his probation satisfactorily and the Probation Officer thought the prospects of his being engaged in criminal acts again were not high. He had several jobs in the next few years but was seldom out of work. He married when he was nineteen.

6. The only recorded offence by this boy was that of malicious mischief when he was eight years old. He did not appear in Court but was warned by the police on the

instructions of the Procurator Fiscal. His father, who was illiterate, was a violent man who was reported to have assaulted the boy's older brother in childhood with the result that his brain was damaged. The relationship between the parents was an unhappy one. Shortly before the subject was born, the father was convicted of manslaughter after killing a man in a drunken fight and was sent to the State Mental Hospital at Carstairs. After his release nearly four years later, he lived with his family again and the boy's two sisters and a younger brother were born, but the parents eventually separated. When the subject was twelve, his older brother who was epileptic and severely defective was admitted to a Mental Deficiency Institution and remained in such institutions with occasional visits home on leave. The elder of the boy's two sisters was ascertained to be mentally handicapped and attended the same special classes as himself, until she was taken into care by the Children's Department and sent away from home. This was apparently because she was sexually precocious and thought to be in some kind of moral danger. Despite his background difficulties, this boy did well during the follow-up period. He spent eleven months with his first employer, tried another job for a few days and then returned to his original employment. His job performance was rated 3 and his overall employment adjustment 2. When interviewed at the age of nineteen, he was earning an average of £20 per week and saving £4 per week regularly towards getting married. He had known his eighteen-year-old girl friend for seven months

and was planning to marry when he was twenty-one. He seemed to be very much the man of the family and was obviously respected by his mother who appeared less intelligent than he was. The family had no contact with the father except through a solicitor.

7. This boy's case history has been described in considerable detail in Chapter 4Bi, as his home support was rated excellent by the Mental Welfare Officer despite his disturbed background. Facts not mentioned in the earlier section were that at the age of two months he went into hospital with pyloric stenosis and was considerably underweight on his return home, that he wore callipers on his legs until the age of seven and that his speech was very backward and showed marked echolalia at five years. He was excluded twice from primary school because of his difficult behaviour. Out of school he would pull up flowers from people's gardens and hit babies in their prams. Some years later there was a possibility of his exclusion from the special class but his behaviour improved sufficiently for his presence there to be tolerated. At the age of twelve he was warned by the police after stealing from a neighbour. When he was fourteen, the school again reported his difficult behaviour. The agricultural college which the senior special class boys attended for gardening lessons was unwilling to have him there because of the trouble caused by his feelings of persecution. A month later, the Head reported that he had assaulted a girl from a nearby secondary school in a side street of the local town. This incident, although

apparently not of a serious nature, was reported to the police but they took no action as his case had been referred two days before to the psychiatrist. However, the psychiatrist concluded that no treatment was necessary as he did not agree with the suggestions of the teachers and the Educational Psychologist that the subject might be developing a paranoid condition. As described in 4Bi, the boy settled down better than expected after leaving school, and no further trouble with the police was reported during the follow-up period.

8. This was the girl who was brought to the attention of a Probation Officer by the police a couple of months before she left school. She was the eldest of five children. Both parents were said to have been below average in intelligence, the father had attended a special class. Shortly before the subject left school, her teacher recommended that she should be kept under close supervision for a considerable period after leaving. However, three months after the leaving date, the local Mental Welfare Officer recorded that she had settled into employment and would not require further visits. Her employment was as a kitchen maid in an hotel. Seven months after taking her on, her employers reported that she worked quietly and fairly efficiently but they felt that her home circumstances were against her, because she had worn the same clothes since starting work and they thought her parents "took her pay straight off her." Eight months after starting work, she left to look after the family because her mother was

in hospital. She never returned to employment as her mother died of cancer. Although the father was working and earning quite a good wage by local standards when the girl left school, home conditions were materially poor. The girl had difficulty in coping with the cooking and household tasks and could not control the younger children. Reporting this eighteen months after the girl left school, the Youth Employment Officer also said that the Welfare Officer was concerned about her health as she did not look physically fit. She was nearly twenty when interviewed for the purpose of assessing her social adjustment. The interviewer, who had not seen previous records, reported that the home looked poor and cheerless and had an unpleasant smell, the girl did not seem to be coping adequately with the care of the household and she and her father appeared unable to curb the unruly behaviour of the younger siblings. Two of the siblings attended, or had attended, special classes and the youngest, who was severely subnormal, was awaiting a place in a Junior Occupation Centre. The subject appeared to feel considerable resentment towards her father who had been unemployed for over a year by the time the interview took place. He treated her as an adult and, during the interview, was at times almost placatory to her. There was some discussion of the possibility of finding work for the subject, and of the father looking after the family.

9. There was no official report of delinquency on the part of this girl. However, three months after she started work, the Youth Employment Officer reported that she had been

temporarily moved out of one department. "This is because they found that she did not get on with the other girls and after investigation, found it was because she stole small articles and small amounts of money from them. Since this was discovered, she has never done so again and so they hope to move her back soon." No further incidents of this nature were reported and she continued with the firm. Later she married and her case is described in Chapter 4Bvia6.

Table 4.28 shows that the five boys who made Court appearances before or after leaving school (cases 1-5 in this section) had a higher average score than the average for the research group on all tests except reading. The table also shows the inconsistency of their scores, some doing particularly well on certain tests but not correspondingly well on all. Their superiority is most marked on the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation on which they each scored well above the average score of all the subjects studied. It might be argued that this test is the only one that relies on self-reporting, rather than on correct or incorrect responses, and that these boys who tend to be untruthful might be expected to exaggerate or lie about their social skills and activities. While conceding the possibility of an element of this, particularly in case 3, from other evidence available and from her impressions during testing, the author inclines to the view that these scores do present a fair picture of the degree of social activity of the subjects. What they fail to do is to distinguish between

Scores on tests taken at 15 years

Subject	I.Q.	Reading Age	Arithmetic Age	Coloured Progressive Matrices	Vocabulary	Manchester Scales	Social Knowledge
1	65	9·7	11·50	20	15	66	24·25
2	66	7·0	8·92	33	17	79	20·50
3	62	7·6	8·33	29	19	76	21·75
4	76	5·7	9·42	21	26	74	29·25
5	67	8·0	8·75	24	14	69	20·50
Mean	67·20	7·60	9·38	25·40	18·20	72·80	23·25
Mean of all who took tests at 15	61·62	8·00	8·10	22·58	17·22	59·96	19·54

Scores on tests taken at 16 years

1	65	9·6	15·00	22	17	72	22·25
3	62	8·3	9·17	26	21	80	22·75
4	76	5·9	9·17	23	26	74	30·50
Mean	67·67	7·93	11·11	23·67	21·33	75·33	25·17
Mean of all who took tests at 16	62·29	8·09	8·35	22·50	19·53	63·74	23·78

Table 4.28. Test scores of those who appeared in Court either before leaving school or during the follow-up period.

Note: The scores at 15 years are included because one boy was upgraded and one boy was sent to an Approved School and these subjects were therefore not available for testing at 16 years.

what society would regard as desirable or undesirable forms of such activity. A boy with plenty of companions is more likely to score highly on such a test than a boy with no friends, regardless of the fact that the companions may be the type who will lead him into trouble. Since in this study the Manchester Scales were found generally to be one of the best predictors of subsequent adjustment, there is perhaps scope for a modification or extension of these to help predict "anti-social adjustment". It should be noted, however, that the comparatively high score of delinquent subjects on this test would probably not be a feature of studies carried out over the whole range of the population. In the special class population the delinquent group generally tends to be above average in intelligence and physique. As compared with that of the general population however, the mean intelligence level of delinquents is more likely to be low, although the extent to which the mean intelligence of delinquents is below the general mean is disputed (cf. Woodward, 1963, and West, 1969). According to some studies such as Ferguson's (1952), delinquents may also tend to be below the average for the general population in physical strength and fitness, but in this respect also reports are conflicting (cf. Gibbens, 1963).

viii) Relations among the post-school adjustment variables and between post-school adjustment and predictive variables

The relations between employment adjustment and the various aspects of social adjustment rated by the independent assessor are shown in Table 4.29. As one would expect, the social adjustment scale with the closest relationship to employment adjustment was that of Financial Independence. The scale with the least relationship to employment adjustment was Household Responsibilities. A possible interpretation of this has been discussed in Chapter 4Biii.

In Table 4.30 are shown the relations between the two principal post-school adjustment variables and the potentially predictive variables. The patterns of correlations in the two columns are very similar, indicating that the predictive variables have similar relations to both aspects of adjustment. The three strongest predictors in each column are the scores on the two social tests and the teachers' ratings. There is a suggestion that the two social tests are slightly better predictors of social adjustment than of employment adjustment, whereas the teachers' ratings are a little closer to employment adjustment than to social adjustment. The relation between score on the Manchester Scales and independently rated social adjustment provides a measure of validation for this test.

An analysis reported in Appendix 12 attempts to explore the prediction of a) overall adjustment in the sense of an average of social and employment adjustment and b) the balance between the two aspects of adjustment.

	Overall Employment Adjustment			Weeks Worked		
	r	n	p	r	n	p
Financial Independence	0·84	62	$<0·01$	0·82	65	$<0·01$
Executive Independence	0·67	62	$<0·01$	0·68	65	$<0·01$
Social Relationships	0·58	62	$<0·01$	0·53	65	$<0·01$
Participation in Community	0·49	62	$<0·01$	0·48	65	$<0·01$
Satisfaction from Leisure Pursuits	0·56	62	$<0·01$	0·54	65	$<0·01$
Household Responsi-bilities	0·33	62	$<0·01$	0·23	65	$>0·05$
Overall Social Adjustment	0·75	62	$<0·01$	0·70	65	$<0·01$
Total Social Adjustment	0·77	62	$<0·01$	0·72	65	$<0·01$

Table 4.29. Relations between employment adjustment and social adjustment.

	Overall Employment Adjustment			Total Social Adjustment		
	r	n	p	r	n	p
I.Q.	0·29	66	<0·05	0·36	66	<0·01
Reading	0·14	60	>0·05	0·19	61	>0·05
Arithmetic	0·38	60	<0·01	0·46	61	<0·01
Coloured Progressive Matrices	0·38	60	<0·01	0·35	61	<0·01
Vocabulary	0·32	60	<0·05	0·40	61	<0·01
Manchester Scales	0·51	59	<0·01	0·68	60	<0·01
Social Knowledge	0·53	60	<0·01	0·57	61	<0·01
Teachers' Combined Ratings	0·56	57	<0·01	0·52	56	<0·01
Additional Disability	-0·42	66	<0·01	-0·32	66	<0·01
Family Size	0·13	65	>0·05	0·12	66	>0·05
Both Natural Parents at home at school-leaving	-0·26	65	<0·05	-0·16	65	>0·05

Table 4.30. Relations between post-school adjustment and the potentially predictive variables.

Chapter 5. THE GENERAL SURVEY, YOUTH EMPLOYMENT OFFICERS' REPORTS ON THE EMPLOYMENT RECORDS OF 329 MENTALLY HANDICAPPED YOUNG PEOPLE

i) Data collection

The Central Youth Employment Executive gave permission for a check to be carried out in April 1968 on the employment records of all pupils who had left special classes for the mentally handicapped in Scotland at the Summer leaving date, June/July 1967.

Two specimen forms had been submitted beforehand to the Central Youth Employment Executive. One was a form to be used for each individual leaver. The other was a form on which the Youth Employment Officers would have recorded totals for their areas under various headings. This alternative form was submitted in case it was considered that use of the individual form might endanger the principle of preserving the anonymity of records. Approval was however given for the use of the individual form as no names were to be entered on it. A copy of this form appears as Appendix 10a.

The staff of the Scottish Headquarters of the Central Youth Employment Executive distributed forms to all the Youth Employment Officers in Scotland in whose areas special schools or classes are situated (with the exception of the area where a detailed study was being carried out). The forms were distributed before the chosen leaving date so that particulars of the pupils' ages, sex, additional handicaps etc. could be recorded at the time of leaving. The

details of their employment records were filled in by the Youth Employment Officers in April 1968. The forms were then returned to the Scottish Headquarters of the Central Youth Employment Executive and forwarded to the author.

The number of mentally handicapped leavers reported in the Summer of 1967 by the Youth Employment Officers was 342. Three of these moved to England. Three hundred and thirty nine completed forms were returned to the author. The number of schools involved was 81.

Of the 339 forms returned, 10 were excluded from the analysis. In three cases this was because the records contained no information, one boy having absconded from a Children's Home and two others having left the neighbourhood without trace shortly after leaving school. One form was excluded because the information was contradictory and obviously incorrect. Six forms were excluded because the pupils had left school in April or May 1967 so that it would have been misleading to include their records with those of pupils who left at the June/July end-of-term leaving date.

This report is therefore based on 329 records, 145 for girls and 184 for boys. In a few cases where young people had failed to respond to recent invitations to Open Evenings or to letters seeking to review their progress, the Youth Employment Officers could not be certain whether their records were completely up-to-date. In many of these cases, however, it seemed unlikely that the employment position had changed without the Youth Employment Officer's knowledge. To exclude these forms would have involved

excluding useful and reliable information on, for instance, the age at which the pupils left school, whether they were registered as Disabled Persons, whether they had additional handicaps and the nature of their initial placements. It was therefore decided to include these forms and this report should consequently be regarded as describing the employment progress of the Summer 1967 mentally handicapped school leavers in so far as it was known to the Youth Employment Service in April 1968.

ii) General findings

Table 5.1 shows the employment position of the young people when the forms were completed in April 1968.

	Employed	Previously but no longer employed	Never employed	Total
Girls	88 (61%)	25 (17%)	32 (22%)	145
Boys	116 (63%)	38 (21%)	30 (16%)	184
Total	204 (62%)	63 (19%)	62 (19%)	329

Table 5.1. The employment position in April 1968 of mentally handicapped young people whose records had been kept since they left school in June/July 1967.

The amount of time the subjects had spent in employment and the number of jobs they had held are shown in Table 5.2. This information is shown for girls only in Table 5.3 and for boys only in Table 5.4.

Number of Jobs Held (including present job)	Total Time in Employment in Weeks										
	Never Employed	0.1-5	5.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1-30	30.1-35	35.1+	Total	%
0	62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62	18.8
1	-	19	10	3	3	2	9	22	88	156	47.4
2	-	7	4	3	3	2	5	15	30	69	21.0
3	-	1	3	1	3	2	4	3	10	27	8.2
4	-	1	1	-	1	5	1	1	1	11	3.3
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	0.6
6	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	0.6
Total	62	28	18	7	11	12	20	42	129	329	99.9
%	19.0	8.5	5.5	2.1	3.3	3.6	6.1	12.8	39.2	100.1	

Table 5.2. Employment records in April 1968 of mentally handicapped young people who left special classes in Scotland in June/July 1967. Girls and Boys.

Number of Jobs Held (including present job)	Total Time in Employment in Weeks										
	Never Employed	0.1-5	5.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1-30	30.1-35	35.1+	Total	%
0	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	22.1
1	-	8	6	1	3	1	1	7	40	67	46.2
2	-	3	-	1	2	1	1	7	15	30	20.7
3	-	-	2	1	2	-	2	-	3	10	6.9
4	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	4	2.8
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	1.4
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	32	11	8	3	8	4	6	15	58	145	100.1
%	22.1	7.6	5.5	2.1	5.5	2.8	4.1	10.3	40.0	100.0	

Table 5.3. Employment records in April 1968 of mentally handicapped girls who left special classes in Scotland in June/July 1967. Girls only.

Number of Jobs Held (including present job)	Total Time in Employment in Weeks										
	Never Employed	0.1-5	5.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1-30	30.1-35	35.1+	Total	%
0	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	16.3
1	-	11	4	2	-	1	8	15	48	89	48.4
2	-	4	4	2	1	1	4	8	15	39	21.2
3	-	1	1	-	1	2	2	3	7	17	9.2
4	-	1	1	-	-	3	-	1	1	7	3.8
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	1.1
Total	30	17	10	4	3	8	14	27	71	184	100.0
%	16.3	9.2	5.4	2.2	1.6	4.3	7.6	14.7	38.6	99.9	

Table 5.4 Employment records in April 1968 of mentally handicapped boys who left special classes in Scotland in June/July 1967. Boys only.

iii) Girls never employed

Of the 57 girls not working in April 1968, 20 had never sought employment and 12 others had never obtained work, making a total of 32 who had never been in employment at all. 3 who had not obtained work were no longer seeking employment, but 2 who had not sought work on leaving school were registered for employment in April 1968.

16 (50%) of the girls who had never been employed were reported to have handicaps additional to that of mental handicap. Speech difficulties were reported in 4 of these cases, in 3 of them speech defect was the only additional handicap mentioned, in the other 1 it was in association with epilepsy.

3 (9%) of the girls in the group who had not been employed were registered as Disabled Persons. 1 of these had no handicap other than mental defect, 1 was partially sighted and slightly spastic.

2 (6%) of the girls never employed had left school before reaching the age of sixteen but in both cases their sixteenth birthdays were less than a month after the leaving date.

4 of the girls who had not been in employment were attending Senior Occupation Centres and 1 was attending a Mental Hospital as a day-patient.

iv) Girls no longer employed

Of the 25 girls who were not employed in April 1968 but had previously been in employment, 13 (52%) had lost or left their last jobs at least three months before the forms were completed. 9 of these 13 (36% of the no longer employed group) had been out of employment for over six months. 8 of the girls who had previously had jobs were no longer seeking employment and 2 others were no longer registered with the Youth Employment Officer although they may still have had some interest in working again.

Only 1 of the 25 girls who had had jobs but were no longer working had been in any one job for over six months. 6 had been in one job for between three and six months.

Of the girls not employed in April, 11 had had one job, 5 had had two, 5 had had three jobs, 3 had had four and 1 had had five.

9 (36%) of the girls in this group were recorded as having physical disabilities (1 slight) and 1 other was reported to be handicapped by extreme nervousness.

2 (8%) of these 25 girls were registered as Disabled Persons. 1 was an epileptic and the other suffered from asthma and eczema. In one other case where registration was pending the girl was not reported to have any disability other than mental handicap.

3 (12%) of the girls in this group had left school before reaching the age of sixteen but in two cases their sixteenth birthdays were less than two months after the leaving date.

4 of the girls no longer employed were attending Senior Occupation Centres and 1 was in a Mental Deficiency Hospital.

The amount of time these girls had spent in employment and the number of jobs they had held are shown in Table 5.5

v) Employed Girls

88 girls (61% of all girls in the survey) were in employment when the forms were completed.

56 (64%) of these girls were in their first job. 18 of those who had been in one job only had been there for over nine months, 22 for between eight and nine months, 8 for between six and eight months, 3 for between three and six months and 5 for less than three months.

25 (28%) of these girls were employed in their second jobs. Of these, 1 had been in her present job for over nine months, 4 had been in their second jobs for between eight and nine months, 9 had been in one of their jobs for between six and eight months, 9 had been in one job for between three and six months and 2 had not been in any one job for more than three months. In 19 cases, including all but one of those who had been in a job for over six months, the girls had spent longer in their second jobs than in their first.

Of the 5 girls (6% of this group) employed in their third jobs, 1 had spent over seven months in a single job (her first), 2 had been in one job for between five and six

Number of Jobs Held	Total Time in Employment in Weeks									
	0.1-5	5.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1-30	30.1-35	35.1-40	40.1+	Total
1	6	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	11
2	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	5
3	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	5
4	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	8	5	1	5	2	3	1	-	-	25

Table 5.5. June/July 1967 Mentally handicapped school leavers. Scotland. Girls previously employed but not in employment in April 1968.

months, 1 had been in a job between four and five months and 1 had had a job between two and three months. 3 of the girls in their third jobs had spent longest in their first employment, 1 in her second and 1 in her third.

1 girl was in her fourth job, having been there for nearly two and a half months, her longest period in any one job. Another was in her fifth job, her longest period of employment, just over two and a half months, having been in her first job.

18 (20%) of the girls employed in April 1968 were reported to have handicaps in addition to that of mental handicap but in 5 cases these other disabilities were slight. 3 of the girls with additional handicaps suffered from epilepsy, 4 had speech defects (2 slight) and another had a speech difficulty in association with deafness.

6 (7%) of the girls who were working were registered as Disabled Persons. 3 of these were not reported to have any handicap other than mental handicap, 1 suffered from asthma and dermatitis, 1 was spastic and 1 had a slight speech difficulty.

13 (15%) of the girls in employment had left school between the ages of fifteen and sixteen, although 5 of these were reported to have sixteenth birthdays less than two months after the leaving date.

Table 5.6 shows the amount of time spent by these girls in employment and the number of jobs they had held.

Number of Jobs Held (including present job)	Total Time in Employment in Weeks									
	0.1-5	5.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1-30	30.1-35	35.1-40	40.1+	Total
1	2	3	-	2	1	1	7	23	17	56
2	1	-	1	1	-	1	6	14	1	25
3	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	-	5
4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	3	3	2	3	2	3	14	40	18	88

Table 5.6. June/July 1967 Mentally handicapped school leavers. Scotland. Girls in Employment in April 1968.

vi) Boys never employed

Of the 68 boys not working in April 1968, 21 had never sought employment and 9 others had never obtained work, making a total of 30 who had never been in employment at all. 2 who had not obtained work were no longer seeking employment.

15 (50%) of the boys who had never been employed were reported to have handicaps additional to that of mental handicap. Speech defects were reported in 6 of these cases, in 3 of them speech was the only additional handicap mentioned, in the other 3 it was in association with another physical disability.

2 (7%) of the boys in this group were registered as Disabled Persons, 1 suffered from asthma, the other from epilepsy and paralysis.

1 of the boys never employed had left before reaching the age of sixteen but he was within a month of his sixteenth birthday.

8 of the boys who had not been in employment were attending Senior Occupation Centres and 1 was at a special work centre. 2 were in Mental Hospitals and 1 at Red Cross House.

1 of the boys whose record showed him to be in the category of those never employed may in fact have done some casual labouring on farms.

vii) Boys no longer employed

Of the 38 boys who had previously been in employment, 20 (53%) had lost or left their last jobs at least three months before the forms were completed. 11 of these (29% of the no longer employed group) had been out of employment for over six months. 7 of the boys who had previously had jobs were no longer seeking employment.

2 of the boys who had had jobs but were no longer working had been in one job for over eight months and 1 other for over seven months. 9 had been in any one job for between three and six months.

Of the boys not employed in April 1968, 17 had had one job, 12 had had two, 5 had had three jobs, 2 had had four and 2 had had six jobs.

9 (24%) of the boys in this group were reported to have physical disabilities in addition to their mental handicap and 1 was classified as maladjusted.

1 boy who suffered from bronchiectasis was registered as a Disabled Person and 1 other boy with deformed feet was in process of becoming registered.

7 (18%) of this group had left school under the age of sixteen but in 4 cases they were within two months of their sixteenth birthdays when they left.

None of these boys was recorded as attending Senior Occupation Centre but 2 were in Mental Hospitals and 1 at a Borstal institution.

The amount of time spent by these boys in employment and the number of jobs they had held are shown in Table 5.7.

Number of Jobs Held	Total Time in Employment in Weeks									
	0.1-5	5.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1-30	30.1-35	35.1-40	40.1+	Total
1	11	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	17
2	3	4	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	12
3	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	5
4	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Total	16	7	1	3	5	3	1	2	-	38

Table 5.7. June/July 1967 Mentally handicapped school leavers. Scotland. Boys previously employed but not in employment in April 1968.

viii) Employed Boys

116 boys (63%) were in employment when the forms were completed.

72 (62%) of these boys were in their first jobs. 23 of those who had been in the one job only had been there for over nine months, 25 for between eight and nine months, 22 for between six and eight months, 1 for between three and six months and 1 for less than three months.

27 (23%) of these boys were employed in their second jobs. 7 of these had been in one of their jobs for between eight and nine months, 12 had been in one job for between six and eight months, 6 had been in one job for between three and six months and 2 had not been in any one job for more than three months. 19 of these boys, including 6 of the 7 who had been in one job for over eight months, had already spent longer in their second job than they had in their first.

Of the 12 boys (10% of this group) employed in their third jobs, 3 had spent between six and seven months in any one job, 7 had spent between three and six months in one and 2 had not been in any one job for more than three months.

Of the 5 boys (4% of the employed group) in their fourth jobs, 1 had been there for just over six months, 1 had spent his longest period of employment, three-four months, in his second job and 3 had not held any one job for more than three months.

16 (14%) of the boys employed in April 1968 were reported to have handicaps additional to that of mental handicap, although in 3 cases these were slight. 3 of these boys

had speech defects and 1 other a speech defect plus another disability.

2 (2%) of the boys in employment were registered as Disabled Persons. 1 of these was reported to be spastic and the other had slightly defective hearing.

23 (20%) of the boys who were working had left school before reaching the age of sixteen but in 10 cases their sixteenth birthdays were less than two months after the leaving date.

Table 5.8 shows the amount of time these boys had spent in employment and the number of jobs they had held.

ix) Registration as Disabled Persons

16 of the 329 young people (5%) were registered as Disabled Persons. 11 (8%) of the girls and 5 (3%) of the boys were so registered. 2 others (1 girl and 1 boy) were in process of becoming registered.

Of those registered as Disabled, 5 (31%) had never been employed (27% of registered girls and 40% of registered boys); 3 (19%) had been employed but were not working in April 1968 (18% of registered girls and 20% of registered boys); 8 (50%) were in employment (55% of registered girls and 40% of registered boys).

Of the 6 girls registered as Disabled who were in employment, 5 were in their first jobs. 2 of these had been there for over nine months, 1 for between eight and nine months and 2 for between six and eight months. 1 girl was in her second job, having been there for two and a half months

Number of Jobs Held (including present job)	Total Time in Employment in Weeks									
	0.1-5	5.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1-30	30.1-35	35.1-40	40.1+	Total
1	-	1	1	-	-	8	15	27	20	72
2	1	-	2	-	-	2	8	10	4	27
3	-	1	-	-	1	1	2	4	3	12
4	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	5
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	3	3	-	3	11	26	41	28	116

Table 5.8. June/July 1967 Mentally handicapped school leavers. Scotland. Boys in employment in April 1968.

and having been in her first job for five months. Of the 2 registered boys who were employed, 1 was in his first job and had been in it over eight months, 1 was in his second job where he had been for about three months.

Each of the 2 girls no longer employed had had one job. 1 had worked for only two days and had had no employment for the past seven months, 1 had worked for nearly six weeks but had no employment for the past eight months. The boy no longer working had had two jobs. The longest had lasted for twelve days and it was nearly five months since he had lost his second.

Of the young people registered as Disabled Persons,

4 (all girls) had no recorded handicap other than their mental handicap,

3 (2 girls and 1 boy) suffered from asthma, in one case in association with eczema, in one case with dermatitis,

3 (2 girls and 1 boy) were reported to be spastic, in one case this disability was slight, but this girl was also partially sighted,

3 (2 girls and 1 boy) were epileptic, one of the girls also having a speech defect and the boy some degree of paralysis,

1 boy had slightly defective hearing,

1 girl had a slight speech defect (in addition to the girl with a speech defect who also had epilepsy),

1 boy had bronchiectasis.

x) Those who left while under the age of sixteen

49 young people (15% of all those in the survey) left school before reaching the age of sixteen, 18 (12%) of the girls and 31 (17%) of the boys.

13 of the girls who left early (72%) were in employment. (5 of these had been within two months of their sixteenth birthdays when they left.) 8 were in their first jobs, 5 were in their second. 2 had held one job for over nine months, 4 had held one for between eight and nine months, 3 for between six and eight months, 3 for between three and six months and 1 had not held any one job for more than three months.

3 (17%) of the girls who left before reaching the age of sixteen had been employed but were no longer in jobs in April 1968. 2 of them had been out of employment for over six months, having had one job each. 1 had been out of work for one and a half months but had had four jobs, the longest lasting just under three months. 2 of these girls, including the 1 who had had four jobs, had been within two months of their sixteenth birthdays when they left.

2 (11%) of the girls who left early had never been employed but in both cases their sixteenth birthdays were less than a month after the leaving date.

1 girl who had left at fifteen years ten months was registered as Disabled. She suffered from asthma and eczema and had held a job for only two days. No other early leavers were registered as Disabled Persons but among those who had left while under sixteen and were working 1 was epileptic,

1 had a speech defect and 1 a slight hearing defect. 1 early leaver who had never been employed was reported to be slightly spastic and small in stature.

23 of the boys who left before reaching the age of sixteen (74%) were in employment. (10 of these had been within two months of their sixteenth birthdays when they left.) 15 were in their first job, 3 in their second, 3 in their third and 2 in their fourth. 6 had spent over nine months in one job, 8 had spent between eight and nine mohths in a single job, 4 had spent between six and eight months, the longest 3 had spent in one job was between three and six months and 2 had not held any one job for more than three months.

7 (23%) of the boys who were under sixteen on leaving had had jobs but were not employed in April 1968. (4 of these were within two months of their sixteenth birthdays when they left school.) 3 had been out of work for more than eight months. In the other 4 cases the periods since their last jobs ended ranged from a few days to two and a half months. 3 had had one job, 1 had had two, 1 had had three and two had had four jobs.

1 boy who had left before reaching the age of sixteen had had no recorded employment but the Youth Employment Officer suspected that he had had casual agricultural work. He was within a month of his sixteenth birthday when he left and was reported to be epileptic.

None of the boys in this group was registered as a Disabled Person but 1 boy who had left early and was working

had a speech defect associated with mastoid trouble and 1 had defective colour vision. 1 early leaver who was no longer employed, having had four jobs, had poor eyesight.

xi) Additional Disabilities

83 young people (25% of the 329 in the survey) were reported to have other handicaps in addition to their mental handicap. The severity of these handicaps varied. Some were at least as disabling as the young person's mental condition but no doubt some pupils who were reported to have slight defects were no more disabled by them than were other boys and girls whose slight defects of a similar nature were not recorded. In a general survey of this kind, however, one can only distinguish between those with disabilities considered important enough to be recorded and those without.

Of the 43 girls (30% of all girls in the survey) with additional handicaps, 18 (42%) were employed, 9 (21%) were no longer employed and 16 (37%) had never been employed. Of the 40 boys (22% of all boys in the survey) with additional handicaps, 16 (40%) were employed, 9 (23%) were no longer employed and 15 (38%) had never been employed.

11 of the 43 girls (8% of the 145 girls in the survey) were recorded as having more than one additional handicap. 2 of these were employed, 1 was no longer employed and 8 had never been employed. 8 of the 40 boys (4% of the 184 boys in the survey) were recorded as having more than one additional handicap. 1 of these was employed, 1 was no longer employed and 6 had never been employed.

Speech

19 cases of speech defect were recorded (6% of 329). 9 of these (5 girls and 4 boys) were in employment. In 2 of these cases the speech defect was associated with deafness. 10 (4 girls and 6 boys) had never been in employment. In 1 of these cases the young person also had a back injury, in 1 case poor physique, in 1 case epilepsy and in 1 case severe spastic diplegia.

Sight

13 cases of defective eyesight were recorded. 8 (5 girls and 3 boys) were in employment. 1 of these also suffered from epilepsy and had slightly defective hearing. 2 (1 girl and 1 boy) were no longer employed and 3 (2 girls and 1 boy) had never been employed.

Hearing

11 cases of defective hearing were reported. 9 (5 girls and 4 boys) were in employment. 2 of these also had speech defects and 1 was an epileptic with a slight visual defect. 1 girl was no longer employed and 1 boy had bever been employed.

Epilepsy

There were 11 reported cases of epilepsy. 4 (3 girls and 1 boy) were working. 2 of these girls were in their first job. 1 of them, who also had slightly defective vision and hearing, had been in the job for over eight months but the other had been employed for less than one and a half months. The third girl was in her second job and had been there for nearly seven months. The boy who was working had had no

epileptic attack for three and a half years. He was still in his first job where he had been for over nine months. 2 epileptics (1 girl and 1 boy) had been employed but were no longer working. The girl had had one job lasting nearly six weeks but had not worked for eight months. The boy, who also had a paraylsed hand, had worked for only four days and had had no employment for the past seven and a half months. 5 of those suffering from epilepsy (2 girls and 3 boys) had never been employed. 1 of these girls had a speech defect, 1 suffered from ataxia. The 3 boys included 1 who was also handicapped by paralysis and 1 whose epilepsy was suspected but not confirmed. 1 other boy, who is not included in the 11 cases of epilepsy, was reported to have fits following a head injury but he had been working in his second job for over eight months.

Spasticity, Ataxia

9 young people were described as being spastic. This term was probably sometimes used in its general sense to include other types of cerebral palsy. 2 (1 girl and 1 boy) thus described were in employment. The girl had worked over nine months in the one job, the boy had just started his second job, having spent three months in his first. 1 girl had held a job for a couple of weeks but had had no employment for over seven months and was attending Senior Occupation Centre. 6 (4 girls and 2 boys) had never been employed. All 4 girls had other handicaps, 1 being partially sighted, 1 hydrocephalic, 1 small in stature, and the other having had a heart operation. 1 of the boys had poor indistinct speech. 2 girls reported

as suffering from ataxia, 1 of whom was also epileptic, had never worked.

Other Paralysis

3 cases of paralysis other than that described as spastic were reported. 1 boy with epilepsy and a paralysed hand had been out of employment for seven and a half months, having worked for four days. 1 boy with paralysis and epilepsy and 1 boy with paresis of the right arm and leg and poor balance had never had jobs.

Skin Disorders

There were 4 reported cases of skin disorders (all girls). 1 with asthma and dermatitis was working. 3 were no longer employed. 2 of these were reported as having eczema, in 1 case in association with asthma. In the other case the skin disorder was not specified.

Asthma

The 2 girls and 1 boy reported to suffer from asthma were all registered as Disabled Persons. 1 girl, who also had dermatitis, was employed, the other, who had eczema, was no longer working. The boy had never had a job.

Heart Disorders

4 young people (3 girls and 1 boy) had diseased or defective hearts. The boy had worked for a few days but had left his job over six months before the forms were completed. The 3 girls had never been employed. 1 of them was also spastic and the other was reported to have brittle bones.

The following list shows the other handicaps mentioned:-

Hydrocephalus	1 girl (also a spastic), never employed.
Diabetes	1 boy, employed.
Mongolism	1 boy, never employed.
Cretinism	1 girl, no longer employed.
Kidney disease	1 girl (also other, unspecified, internal trouble), never employed.
Bronchiectasis	1 boy, no longer employed.
History of T.B., present anaemia and poor health	1 girl, no longer employed.
"Dizzy turns", probably anaemia	1 girl, never employed.
Dislocated hip	1 girl, employed.
Malformed finger joints	1 boy, employed.
Crippled feet	1 boy, no longer employed.
Pigeon chest	1 boy, no longer employed.
Back injury	1 boy (also speech defect), never employed.
Arm injury (little interference with function)	1 boy, no longer employed.
Obesity	1 boy, no longer employed.
Undersized	1 boy, employed. 1 girl (also eczema), no longer employed. 1 girl (also spastic), never employed.
Weak, delicate, poor physique	1 girl, never employed. 2 boys (1 with speech defect, 1 with squint), never employed.

xii) Occupations - Girls

There were 88 jobs in which girls in the survey were employed in April 1968.

68 of these jobs were in factories. (6 others were probably in factories, but the Youth Employment Officer had described 5 of these girls as "trainees" and 1 as a "general worker" without giving any further indication as to the nature of the jobs or the firms in which they were working.) Of the 68 factory jobs, 27 were concerned with the manufacture of textiles and clothing, 10 were in firms producing or processing food or drink and 9 were in various other specified industries including boxmaking, netmaking, hacklemaking, jute and sacks, carpets, cork and bricks. In 22 cases the type of firm was not specified but the girls were described as being general workers in factories or as being engaged on operations that one would generally expect to find taking place in factories.

In those cases where the nature of the job rather than, or in addition to, the type of product was specified, the most frequently recorded was machining (12 were described as machinists or learner machinists) and packing (there were 11 packers). Other specific tasks mentioned included sorting and classifying wool, opening out and buttoning up woollens, bogey work, stave filling, splicing, preparing potatoes for canning, feeding bottles into a washing machine and cellulose polishing.

1 girl was working in a bakery. 4 were employed in laundry work. 4 girls were engaged in domestic work, 1 being described as a kitchenmaid, 1 a kitchen help in an hotel, 1

a general domestic and 1 a canteen assistant. 2 girls were working as assistants in supermarkets or self-service shops. 1 was in a printing warehouse, 1 girl was a cinema usherette. 1 was an assistant in a nursery.

The following is a list of jobs which had been held for over eight months and in which the girls were still employed:-

8 unspecified factory work
5 machinists
5 packers
5 in knitwear factories
3 in laundries
2 in carpet manufacturing (1 general worker, 1 winder)
2 in jute mills (1 wire-worker, 1 bag spreader)
2 in wool mills (1 sorting and classifying wool, 1 bogey work)
2 shop assistants
1 in drawing department of textile mill
1 boxmaker
1 in hosiery (slicing)
1 buttoner
1 working a labelling machine
1 nursery assistant
1 canteen assistant
1 cinema usherette
2 trainees, job unspecified
1 general worker, firm unspecified.

There were 95 jobs that the girls in the survey had undertaken but had lost or left.

50 of these jobs had been in factories. In 9 other cases where the Youth Employment Officer had described the occupations simply as "trainee" or "general worker" the girls may well have been in factory work.) Of the 50 factory jobs, 20 were in firms manufacturing textiles or clothing. 5 were concerned with producing or processing food or drink, 11 others were in various specified industries including boxmaking, carpets, jute and sacks, leather goods, baskets, pans, fishing tackle and paper. In 14 cases the type of firm was not specified but the girls were described as being general workers in factories or as being engaged on operations that one would expect to find being carried on in factories.

In those cases where the nature of the job rather than, or in addition to, the type of firm was specified, 12 were reported as having been learner machinists, 4 were described as packers and 2 others as despatch workers. Other specified jobs included pressing, bottling, sticking labels on bottles and fly-tying.

12 of the jobs no longer held were as shop assistants. 6 of these were in self-service stores and in several cases it was pointed out that the girl's work had been satisfactory while she was employed on shelf-replenishment but that she had been unable to cope when required to handle cash. 1 other job as a trainee alteration hand may have been in a shop.

8 jobs had been in domestic work. 2 of these were described as pantrymaids, 1 as a housemaid, 2 as kitchen work, 1 as a cleaner and 1 simply as domestic. 1 girl had been a

domestic in a Children's Home but had been unable to get on with small children.

3 jobs had been in bakeries. 4 had been in laundries. 1 job as a poultry worker was recorded, and 5 lifting potatoes. 1 girl had been a cinema usherette. 1 girl had been employed as an office junior, mostly filing, a job which she obtained through her sister and in which she remained for seven months before being paid off because it was beyond her capabilities.

xiii) Occupations - Boys

There were 116 jobs in which boys in the survey were employed in April 1968.

23 of these jobs were described as labouring. In 7 cases the workplaces were not specified but those specified included sawmills, slaughterhouses, brickworks, a woodyard, a tannery, a local authority cleansing department and various factories.

There were 34 other jobs in factories in addition to those described as labourers, although some of those simply described as factory workers or general workers in factories were probably doing the same type of work as those described as labourers. Other factory jobs included bogey hurlers, boxmakers, a rover and a twiner in a jute mill, a loom boy and a yarn store assistant in a carpet factory, an apprentice upholsterer, a presser and a trainee wire shaper.

The 3 storeboys were probably also in factories but they were not included in the 34. 2 boys were employed in bakeries.

There were 22 van boys (1 laundry, 1 bread, 1 grocery, 19 unspecified) plus 2 milkboys, 1 butcher's delivery boy, 2 messengers and 1 lorry driver's mate. There was 1 laundry hamper boy.

3 jobs were in the building trade, 1 being an apprentice and 1 a pre-apprentice bricklayer and 1 a general worker.

7 jobs were concerned with agriculture or horticulture, 4 of them being general farm work.

3 boys were in employment as page boys. There were 3 porters, 1 being a hospital porter. 1 boy was employed as a refuse collector and 1 as a salvage boy. 1 was a yardboy in a cooperage. There were 2 warehouse workers. 2 boys were working in shops. 1 boy was working as a grave digger. 1 was an apprentice miner.

The following is a list of the jobs that had been held for over eight months and in which boys were still employed:-

9 van boys

7 unspecified labourers

6 general factory workers (1 sacks, 1 prams, 2 textiles, 2 unspecified)

3 farm workers

2 storeboys

2 bogey hurlers

1 poultry worker

1 market garden worker

1 labourer laying tiles for agricultural drainage

1 general building worker

1 pre-apprentice bricklayer

1 sawmill labourer

1 brickworks labourer

1 woodyard labourer

1 cleansing department labourer

1 labourer in a creamery

1 labourer in a jute mill

1 rover in a jute mill

1 piecer in a blanket mill

1 trainee wire shaper

1 apprentice upholsterer

1 presser

1 trainee spinner

1 wool mill trainee

1 bakery worker

1 milkboy

1 laundry hamper boy

1 porter

1 page boy

1 shop assistant

1 apprentice miner

There were 142 jobs which boys in the survey had undertaken but had lost or left before April 1968.

27 were described as labouring jobs. In 9 cases the workplaces of these were unspecified but those specified included sawmills, a dyeworks, a slating and plastering firm, a slaughterhouse, a timberyard, a fishmarket, jute mills, a

pre-cast stone manufacturers and other factories.

In addition to those described as factory labourers, 36 other jobs in factories were reported. No doubt some of those unspecified or called general workers involved some labouring but the list also included packers, nippers, jute setters, a trainee ladder maker, a trainee cushion maker, a bobbin boy and a trainee tailor's cutter. There was also a storeboy, not included in the 36, who probably worked in a factory.

25 of the jobs no longer held had been as van boys. 4 had been milk boys and 2 messengers.

19 of the jobs had been connected with agriculture, horticulture and fishing, some of these, such as the 5 potato lifting jobs, being seasonal.

1 job as a page boy had been lost, also 1 as a porter.

5 jobs had been as salvage boys. 3 had been for warehouse assistants. There had been 4 jobs as apprentice butchers. 1 boy had been employed as a shop assistant and 1 as a junior salesman. There had been 1 job lost in a laundry and 1 in a bakery.

1 job as an apprentice painter was no longer held and 1 as an apprentice stone mason. 1 boy had left a job helping in his father's slating business and 1 had lost a job as a teaboy on a building site.

6 jobs no longer held were recorded only as "general worker" with nothing further specified.

xiv) Comparisons with the results of the follow-up study

The results of this short term survey of the employment records of the mentally handicapped pupils who left special classes throughout the country (except those in the follow-up area) at one particular leaving date were compared with information obtained in the follow-up study.

The employment records of the subjects of the follow-up study were checked to see the employment position of each subject nine and a half months after his leaving date. The results are shown in Table 5.9. In compiling this table the author has included the 2 young people who were excluded from Table 4.1 (cf. Chapter 4Aii)) because at this stage, nine and a half months after leaving, their records were still complete. She has, however, excluded 1 girl who went straight from school to spend several months at an establishment that trained girls for domestic service.

	Employed	Previously but no longer employed	Never employed	Total
Girls	15 (41%)	11 (30%)	11 (30%)	37
Boys	26 (76%)	6 (18%)	2 (6%)	34
Total	41 (58%)	17 (24%)	13 (18%)	71

Table 5.9. The employment position of the subjects of the follow-up study nine and a half months after their leaving dates.

Comparison of Table 5.9 with Table 5.1 shows that while approximately 1% fewer subjects of the follow-up study had never been employed at this stage, 4% fewer were in employment and 5% more were unemployed having previously held jobs.

Comparison of the total time worked by the members of the two groups shows that the same proportion, 27%, had never been employed or had worked for less than five weeks, 27·4% in the national survey and 26·8% in the follow up study. Among those who were more successful in employment in this period after leaving school, the proportion of subjects who had worked for more than thirty weeks was 52% in the national survey and 55% in the follow up study. (It must be borne in mind that the dates defining the period were not quite so exact in the national survey. A single mid-April cut-off date was taken for the records of all the subjects of the national survey, although there were variations of a few days in their leaving dates as some schools ended the Summer term during the last week in June, some during the first week in July. In the more detailed follow up study it was possible to calculate exactly nine and a half months from each subject's leaving date and this may have given the subjects of the follow up study a slight advantage in the comparison.)

The general similarity between the employment record of the subjects of the national survey and that of the subjects of the follow up study suggests that the progress of the mentally handicapped young people in the area selected for detailed study was not atypical. Nevertheless, comparison of the total figures masks a considerable difference between the two groups. Among the subjects of the follow up study there was a much greater discrepancy between the records of the girls and those of the boys than was found in the

national survey. In the national survey the boys were doing marginally better than the girls, just over 4% fewer of the boys than of the girls had never been employed or had worked for less than five weeks and 3% more of the boys than of the girls had worked for more than thirty weeks. In the same length of time in the follow up study, however, 17% more of the girls than of the boys had had no, or less than five weeks, employment and 14% fewer of the girls had worked for over thirty weeks. (The sex discrepancy is not evident in the follow up study, however, when one considers only those who had worked for more than thirty-five weeks. In this case the proportion is almost the same, 47% of the boys and 46% of the girls.)

In order to see whether the employment progress of mentally handicapped school leavers in the length of time covered by the national survey provides any indication of what their future progress is likely to be, the correlation was computed between the number of weeks worked by the subjects of the follow up study in their first nine and a half months after leaving school and the number of weeks they worked in the remainder of the two-year follow up period. If one excludes the 4 young people who were not given overall employment adjustment ratings because 1 died and 3 took over full-time responsibility for household management, and also excludes the girl who spent a large part of the first nine and a half months after leaving on a domestic training course, the correlation between the weeks worked in the two parts of the follow up period was 0·85, n=65. (If the records of these

5 young people are included, the correlation between weeks worked in the first nine and a half months and weeks worked in the remainder of the period is 0·78, n=70.)

Among both boys and girls in the national survey just over a quarter (25% and 29%) had had less than five weeks employment and a similar proportion (27%) was found in the follow up study, although there was a greater discrepancy there between boys and girls. At the end of the two-year follow-up period 26% of the subjects had still had less than five weeks employment (Table 4.1). Among the 13 subjects of the follow up study who had never been employed at the end of nine and a half months, only 1 took up employment later in the two-year period, although 1 other did take up work after the two-year follow up had ended. Of the 6 young people who were unemployed at the end of the first nine and a half months, having had jobs but for less than five weeks, none took up work again during the research period. (In this three-year follow up of 188 leavers from schools for the mentally handicapped in Edinburgh (where unemployment among young people was the lowest in the country) Jackson [1966] found that 31 could be classified as unemployable and 3 others were unemployed almost continuously throughout the three years, making a total of 18% of the subjects.) These findings suggest that among mentally handicapped school leavers in Scotland there is a substantial "hard core" who do not take up open employment or who drop out of the competition for it very soon after leaving school.

Of the 17 subjects of the present follow up study who had been employed but were no longer in employment nine and a half months after leaving, 11 had no further employment during the remainder of the two year follow up period (1 of these had died and 3 had responsibility for homes), although 1 did take up work again after this period had ended. In the rest of the two year period 1 had a further eight months in employment, 1 had a further two months and 2 worked for one more week. Only 2 took up employment again soon after the check and went on working more or less continuously to the end of the follow up period. Of these, 1 had an unsettled job history and had three more jobs during the follow up, making seven jobs altogether, and the other stayed one month in her third job, then settled for the remainder of the two years in her fourth.

Of the 16 boys in the follow up who at nine and a half months after leaving were in employment having worked for at least thirty-five weeks, 13 were in employment at the end of two years, 9 having spent more than one hundred weeks in work, 1 having spent just under one hundred weeks in work. Of the 3 who were employed at the nine and a half months' check but unemployed at the end of two years, 2 were in process of changing jobs, 1 of these being a frequent job changer. The other boy was in a Detention Centre. Of the girls who were employed nine and a half months after leaving school, 15 had worked for more than thirty-five weeks. Of these, 14 were employed at the end of two years, 12 having spent more than one hundred weeks in work, 2 having spent between ninety-five

and one hundred weeks. The girl who was unemployed had left her last job only one week before the period ended.

These comparisons between the earlier and later records of the groups in the follow up study who had never been employed, were no longer employed, and were in employment nine and a half months after leaving, together with the correlation of 0·85, n=65 (0·78, n=70) between weeks worked in nine and a half months and weeks worked in the remainder of the two years suggest that a mentally handicapped young person's employment record in this early period has considerable predictive value and the information obtained in the national survey not only tells us what has happened to the subjects in the short-term but also gives some indication of what their progress is likely to be over a longer period. It must be remembered, however, that the picture may change after the young people have passed the age of eighteen and entered the adult labour market.

If one takes the proportion of the follow up time spent in employment as the main criterion of employment adjustment, the pattern of the distribution of subjects appears similar in the national survey, the follow up study, Jackson's study (Table 4.11) and Matthew's study (Table 4.13). (This is clear if one combines Matthews category f. Special Group of unemployables, with his category e. Complete Failure, as he frequently does for the purposes of analysis.) In each study two main concentrations of subjects were found and these were at the ends of the distribution. In each case the larger concentration was at the successful end but there was also a

substantial concentration at the end which represented complete failure.

An interesting difference between the information obtained in the national survey and that obtained in the follow up study was in the proportion of young people recorded as having physical disabilities (cf. Chapter 3iv). In the national survey 25% of the subjects were so recorded by the Youth Employment Officers. In the follow up study, where the author had access to information from the School Medical Officers' records, the figure was 50%. The physical disabilities of 24% of the young people in the follow up study were classified as severe. Even those classified as slight were genuine handicaps and seldom of a trivial nature. For instance, if defects of eyesight were corrected by the use of spectacles, these were not included. The only cases that might be regarded as exceptions were 5 of the cases of defective speech where the defect was not sufficiently serious to impede the intelligibility of the speech and was perhaps in the nature of a residue of a more serious defect in childhood.

The difference in the proportion of physical disabilities recorded suggests that Youth Employment Officers are not always provided with adequate information about the physical weaknesses of the mentally handicapped young people they interview. (The author found in the course of the follow up study that the teachers were not always fully informed about them either (cf. Chapter 7) but it is arguable that it is even more important for such information to be available to those responsible

for placing the subjects in employment where the physical strains are likely to be greater than at school and to vary with the type of job.)

The importance, when guiding handicapped young people into employment, of taking full account of even the less obvious disabilities and the less obvious demands of the job was illustrated long ago by some of the case histories quoted by Ferguson, McPhail and McVean (1952) in their report on the Employment Problems of Disabled Youth in Glasgow. A subcommittee of the working party on handicapped school-leavers that reported to the British Council for Rehabilitation of the Disabled in 1963 was of the opinion that a workable scheme of functional assessment for the benefit of Youth Employment Officers could be devised and they drafted a form to be used as a basis for experiment. However, it would appear that as far as mentally handicapped school leavers are concerned Youth Employment Officers are still not being given full information about their additional disabilities. That this is of considerable importance even when the main handicap is mental is indicated by the fact that in the follow up study a correlation of -0·50 was found between the number of weeks worked by the subjects in the two years after leaving school and the degree of physical disability. The relationship was as strong as this despite the fact that two severely disabled boys had very good employment records and several other slightly disabled young people also did well.

In the follow up study the percentage of subjects who registered as Disabled Persons was slightly lower than in the

national survey but the numbers were too small for the difference to be significant. In the follow up study the girl who registered suffered from epilepsy, the boy had no recorded physical disability. Both were registered at the request of their employers after having obtained jobs. The boy worked in one employment throughout the two years, the girl had three jobs but was fairly consistently employed.

Chapter 6. THE GENERAL SURVEY, RETURNS FROM LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND SCHOOLS

Questionnaire forms (Appendix 8a) were returned by 25 local authorities. The author had interviews with education officers of 3 other local authorities, following which forms were completed for their areas. There were four local authorities who administer special school(s) or class(es) for mentally handicapped pupils who did not return the questionnaire, although a reply was received from the school in one of their areas (Appendix 9a). The total school population for which the 28 responding authorities were responsible was 791,034. The number of mentally handicapped pupils (not including those at Junior Occupational Centres) for whom they were responsible was 8,474.

(The forms had a built-in cross-check whereby errors could be detected if the replies to questions 6-8 did not correspond to the reply to question 5. The usefulness of this was demonstrated by the fact that in six cases the replies were discrepant. Letters were sent to the authorities concerned asking if they would be kind enough to explain the discrepancies, which might in some cases have been caused by pupils being sent to schools administered by other authorities. In five cases, however, the discrepancies were caused simply by errors in completing the forms and in one case by a misunderstanding. On a seventh form a clerical error was found in another section. This indicates how important it is to incorporate cross-checks when carrying out questionnaire studies.)

No provision of vocational training for mentally handicapped school leavers was reported by 24 local authorities. There were 2 others who reported limited provision but in both cases no vocational training place had been taken

up by a mentally handicapped leaver in 1964 or 1965 and the returns from schools in the areas showed that none was taken up in 1966. (The questions asking for numbers in the two previous years were intended as checks on the relevance to the needs of mentally handicapped leavers of any provision reported.) Approximately sixteen mentally handicapped leavers per year were sent by one local authority to an Industrial Rehabilitation Unit but this was for an assessment of their suitability for employment rather than for a course of training. One authority stated that vocational training was available but this was shared by severely subnormal persons and appeared to be in the nature of industrial work in a Senior Training (Occupational) Centre not an organised course of vocational training. There was in fact no report of a course of training run specifically for former educable mentally handicapped pupils after they left school. Occasionally a girl from a special school was accepted by an establishment for training in domestic work.

Before leaving school most of the girls had received lessons in domestic subjects and most of the boys had been instructed in woodwork, gardening and perhaps cobbling or another practical subject. Although these lessons seldom bore much relationship to the pupils' future employment, they were sometimes taught in a way that gave a useful training for work generally. Two schools reported that, if their prospective leavers had found jobs before the leaving date, they were given short intensive training to

prepare them for the type of job they were to take up. Two other schools mentioned that they gave their older pupils practice in the use of machines.

One authority, however, had recently initiated an industrial training scheme. Although the young people took part before they left school, it was not conducted at a school or college but at an Industrial Rehabilitation Unit. At first the trainees came from the special schools of only one local authority but, on a later course, when there were vacancies, another authority joined the scheme and sent some of its pupils. This was originally a twelve week course. At the beginning of each course the pupils worked the number of hours in a special school day but the hours were gradually extended to those of a full working day. The trainees started in a small workshop within the main one. As soon as they appeared ready, usually after about two weeks, they were put to work in the main workshop among other disabled persons. There was a craft instructor in charge of the course under the overall direction of the Rehabilitation Officer. There was close co-operation with the Youth Employment Officer and the assessment panel included an occupational psychologist. Not all prospective leavers from schools for the mentally handicapped in the area were taken on the course but the criteria for selection were not firmly fixed and were described to the author in terms of "anyone likely to benefit". At first only boys were taken on the course, later a few girls were included. A teacher, with a small room in the building some distance from the

workshop, taught the pupils in groups of three for periods of an hour. She was not a teacher from one of the special schools which the pupils normally attended. When the author visited the Industrial Rehabilitation Unit at the end of 1967 to see the scheme in operation, the third of the courses was in progress. Those responsible for the courses were still in process of working out a system of instruction. The instructor had originally planned to take the pupils systematically through a pre-arranged series of exercises, much as he did with other trainees. He had soon found it impossible to follow this plan as some mentally handicapped young people were unable to master what had been considered elementary things, such as measuring with a ruler, and so were unable to proceed to the next stage. In the absence of guidance on an alternative system, he simply set the trainees to work on various jobs to see which suited them, changing them around frequently. He found that many rapidly became bored with one job. The tasks did not appear to have been graded, for instance there was no apparent progression from tasks involving larger, more diffuse movements to those involving finer more controlled movements. They were somewhat restricted by the dependence on contract work. Also at that time there was scope for greater integration of the teacher's work with the workshop training. In 1969 the employment records of all the young people who had so far taken a course at the Industrial Rehabilitation Centre were sent to the author so that she could compare their progress in the first nine and a half months after

leaving with the results of the national survey reported in Chapter 5. Unfortunately, the records of four boys had to be excluded because they were not sufficiently complete to permit a calculation of the number of weeks that had been worked and the boys' employment positions at the end of the period were not clear. The exclusion of four subjects from a group numbering only forty-two could have a distorting effect upon the results, particularly as these were all boys who appeared to have experienced difficulty in settling to any one job. Those who had attended the course and whose records were sufficiently complete to be included were doing better than mentally handicapped leavers nationally. The percentage in employment at the end of the nine and a half months was higher than the national figure and the percentage who had never been employed was considerably lower. The average amount of time spent in employment by those who had worked was higher for the group who had received training than for the national sample. However, the unemployment rate for young people in this area was among the lowest in the country and it must also be remembered that those who had taken the course were a selected group of mentally handicapped pupils. Taking into account these factors and the fact that four records were excluded, the author does not consider the results to be decisive.

In 1969 another local authority established a pre-leaving course for mentally handicapped pupils. This also was conducted outside the special school but remained in an

educational setting in a local technical college. Close co-operation between the college teachers and special class teachers was planned. Instruction on such topics as safety, wages and clocking-in procedures was to be given in the schools, while in the college the pupils were to be given practical work "to determine latent skills with Wood, Metal, Electrical, Building, Machining, Catering, Assembly." The pupils were not to be specially selected, all prospective leavers were to be included. One aim was to encourage the young people to mix freely with others at the college whenever possible. (As none of her subjects was to be affected, the author attended a meeting at which the establishment of this course was discussed and submitted observations on the proposals.)

No provision for sheltered work other than that carried on in a Senior Occupational Centre was reported by 26 local authorities. There were 2 of these authorities who mentioned the industrial work in such centres but these do not have the same kind of wage structure and conditions as sheltered workshops. It was to distinguish these that questions 16 and 17, on the nature of the work and wage rates, were included. One authority reported that voluntary associations provided some sheltered work, particularly for those who were spastic, but none of its leavers had taken up a place in 1964 or 1965 and school returns from the area indicated that none did in the summer of 1966. One authority reported sheltered workshops run by the Ministry of Labour and a voluntary organisation and some sheltered employment provided

by industrial firms. These facilities were also for adult disabled persons (who probably constituted the bulk of workers) and for physically handicapped pupils. The authority had no figures available but the school returns showed that none of the mentally handicapped leavers in the area in July 1966 went into sheltered employment.

No local authority reported that hostel facilities were available for mentally handicapped school leavers other than those in the care of a Children's Department. Of interest in this connection, however, is a hostel which one local authority had opened two years earlier for employable mentally subnormal males. A large proportion of the residents had been admitted from mental deficiency hospitals and were regarded as being on leave of absence while undergoing rehabilitation with a view to discharge after a probationary period in the community. However, there had also been a number of informal admissions from home or lodgings and the age range was 16-47 years (mean 27·9) so, although this hostel had not at that time taken mentally handicapped school leavers directly it was not irrelevant to their needs. The residents who were on leave of absence from mental deficiency hospitals undertook an 8-10 week course at the Industrial Rehabilitation Unit before taking up employment. Social training was given at the hostel and there was a voluntary evening class in the basic subjects. Those who had left the hostel to go home or into lodgings were encouraged to return when they wished at weekends or in the evening to join in leisure activities or seek advice on their problems. A description of the work

of this hostel, which the author visited, is given in an article by Sharp (1968).

There were further education classes for mentally handicapped school leavers in the areas administered by 5 local authorities. In 3 of these areas the classes were in the basic subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic. One of these authorities had such a class in most of its ten evening class centres, the other two each had a class in one centre. In the other 2 areas the evening classes took place on special school premises and were associated with recreational facilities. One large school for both mentally and physically handicapped pupils was open every evening in the week and offered a range of technical and educational classes. Another school of a similar type had evening classes in cookery, sewing and crafts, in addition to social activities. A swimming class was arranged by 1 local authority. There were 2 authorities who paid for their mentally handicapped leavers to attend classes (already listed) in nearby cities. However, one stated that only two such leavers had taken advantage of this arrangement in the preceding nine years. The remaining 20 local authorities reported that no further education specifically suitable for mentally handicapped leavers was available, although some mentioned that these young people were free to join ordinary classes if they wished. There was no report of any provision designed to encourage mentally handicapped young people to take instruction at their own level but to join socially, e.g. in a canteen, with other young people

attending various classes in the same building.

The 2 areas in which large special schools provided recreational facilities in addition to evening classes have been mentioned. A weekly club at one of its schools received support from 1 local authority but it served only a small proportion of that authority's mentally handicapped leavers. Two clubs run by voluntary organisations were listed by 1 local authority but the nature of their membership was not specified. This local authority also reported provision that it made for the severely subnormal which was also available to former educable mentally handicapped pupils. Facilities for swimming, organised by the Scottish Society for Mentally Handicapped Children, were mentioned by 1 authority. A major local authority stated that it was its deliberate policy not to encourage separate recreational facilities for mentally handicapped school leavers.

The replies to the questionnaire showed that the provision of facilities particularly suited to the needs of mentally handicapped pupils was sparse. 4 Pages of the questionnaire form were left blank in the returns of the majority of authorities. There was no indication that where such facilities did not exist special efforts were being made to encourage mentally handicapped school leavers to use the facilities provided for young people generally.

There were 49 returns from special schools or schools with attached special classes. Some indication of the problems involved in preparing the pupils for leaving school, and an indication of how misleading it is to speak of them

as a homogeneous group, was provided by the fact that the intelligence quotients of the leavers reported ranged from 40 to 88. Among the fourteen leavers from one school, the most intelligent had an I.Q. of 87, the least intelligent an I.Q. of 46. Among the eleven leavers from another school, the most intelligent had an I.Q. of 88, the least intelligent an I.Q. of 46. The author was surprised by the number of references to leavers with intelligence quotients above 80. These were concentrated mainly in reports from schools in one city but there were several instances in other parts of the country.

The majority of schools reported that all their Summer 1966 leavers had seen a Youth Employment Officer. However, 24 of the 61 leavers from 11 schools had not had an interview with a Youth Employment Officer before leaving. In the returns from local authorities 3 reported that there was a special Youth Employment Officer responsible for placing handicapped young people and 3 others said that the same officer or officers regularly handled the cases of the handicapped. A later report was received of a scheme in which the Youth Employment Officer visited the special school once a month and got to know the pupils by means of informal contacts, such as taking tea with them. A case-conference on the pupil a year before he was due to leave was attended by the head-teacher, and class teachers, a school medical officer, a psychologist and the Youth Employment Officer. An assessment was made as to whether a pupil was suitable for a trial period in employment and subsequent early leaving, for placement in

employment at the end of the full period of special schooling or for a place in a Senior Occupational Centre. The assessment was followed by frequent consultation between the headteacher and the Youth Employment Officer and occasional reassessment. The Youth Employment Officer made contact with parents and possible employers. The scheme also involved industrial visits for the pupils and short trial periods at work.

In most special schools or classes the senior girls receive lessons in cookery, needlework and sometimes laundry, and the boys receive lessons in woodwork, gardening and sometimes metalwork or leatherwork. Cobbling is still taught in some schools. In its reply one school mentioned bee-keeping and another automobile engineering. Often, however, these lessons are not taught in such a way that they bear much relationship to work that the pupils will do in the future, although in some schools they are used to develop in the pupils a sensible approach to work generally, for instance, how to handle tools, proper regard for safety procedures, cleanliness in handling food. Three schools mentioned that their pupils were given practice in the use of machines. Four schools spoke of visits to places of industry. Two of the schools that gave their pupils experience of machinery and one other school reported programmes of preparation for leaving that sounded thorough, extensive and relevant to the demands of adult life. One of these schools looked forward to an extension of its programme when prospective leavers would be able to pay

extended visits to factories, "observing and even participating in real factory work." A report from another area in 1969 described a similarly vigorous programme of training, industrial visits and intensive short-term instruction for individual pupils who knew what jobs they were to enter. In this area too it was hoped to overcome the problems of insurance and responsibility in order to arrange short periods of work experience.

The replies suggested that the large special schools were generally offering their senior pupils more stimulating and thorough programmes of social training and work preparation than the smaller units, particularly than the special classes attached to ordinary schools. This is not surprising since they had larger numbers in the age group and greater resources with which to finance their schemes. In several cases, these were schools in which both mentally and physically handicapped pupils were accommodated. (Having had no experience of such schools, the author is not in a position to discuss their advantages and disadvantages, but some consideration of the possible restrictions imposed by separating pupils according to their major handicap is given in the "postscript to the surveys" of Rutter, Tizard and Whitmore (1970).)

The updating of information about the provision of facilities was not completed by the end of the study period and will be continued for inclusion in a report to the Scottish Home and Health Department.

Chapter 7. CONCLUSION

This chapter consists of a summary of the main findings of the enquiry, followed by a discussion of some of their implications for the education and welfare services.

A. The Main Findings

1. The proportion of mentally handicapped school leavers who do not secure employment or fail to hold a job for more than a few weeks is higher than that suggested by some previous studies in other parts of Britain. This is not an isolated finding. It confirms the results of a study in Edinburgh by Jackson (1967). In both studies over thirty per cent of the subjects failed to make even a moderately satisfactory adjustment to employment. In the present study at least one in three were completely unable to make such an adjustment during the two years after leaving school. Many of those who failed dropped out of the competition for open employment soon after leaving. In a number of cases parents did not regard the Senior Occupational Centre as an acceptable alternative.

2. By contrast, some mentally handicapped young people have employment records that are excellent in terms both of continuity of employment and of quality of job performance. Among the 37% who were employed for more than 95 weeks during the two-year follow-up, some were highly regarded by their

employers in comparison with other workers, required no concessions in training or general treatment and were making staady progress to higher wages and, in some cases, towards more responsible work. Some of those who had been conspicuously successful were as much handicapped by physical disabilities and/or adverse home circumstances as were some of those who had failed.

3. A high proportion of mentally handicapped school leavers suffer from additional disabilities. The proportion of 50% found in this study is close to that of 53% found by Jackson. The nature and extent of these disabilities are not always known to teachers and Youth Employment Officers. Despite notable exceptions, there is a strong relationship between severity of physical disability and inability to undertake or adjust to employment.

4. Teachers' ratings of the attributes of perseverance, industry and reliability were among the best predictors of post-school adjustment. This was found despite the fact that in the present study it was not possible to make adjustments for the differing rating standards of the teachers. This was found in despite also of the fact that the teachers' working conditions tended to isolate them from the mainstream of education, particularly of secondary schooling; that they had not always been fully informed about their pupils' additional disabilities and home backgrounds; that some revealed antagonistic

attitudes towards certain pupils' families; that some appeared disillusioned by the lack of interest in their work on the part of officials, and that one or two appeared to have little confidence in the efforts of the local Youth Employment Officer on behalf of their pupils.

5. Scores on tests of social competence and social knowledge are better predictors of post-school success than are measured intelligence or scores on attainment tests. To this finding is related the observation that in the schools from which the subjects came little attempt was made to provide systematic training for social competence or to extend the pupils' knowledge by organising outside visits for them or visits to the schools by outside speakers.

6. Within a short time of leaving school a number of mentally handicapped school leavers are required to bear considerable domestic responsibilities. Among the girls, 21% married within three years of leaving school. Not all of these were running their own homes, but, in addition to those who were, several unmarried girls were carrying the main share of management and housework in the homes in which they lived because of the death, illness or inadequacy of their mothers. Often these domestic responsibilities had to be carried under an added strain such as that imposed by poor housing, overcrowding or the care of younger siblings. One boy had married and at least one was seriously saving towards marriage by the end of the study. Several boys were the main breadwinners in their families.

7. There was a marked contrast between, on the one hand, a group of former mentally handicapped pupils who had friends among their peers, enjoyed a variety of leisure pursuits and joined in a variety of communal activities, and on the other hand, a group who had no friends of their own age and who participated in scarcely any activities outside their own homes. The latter group was composed mainly of subjects who also had no employment, but between the two groups were a number of young people who had settled reasonably well in employment but whose social activities were restricted. Related to this finding is the observation that during their school time the subjects mixed scarcely at all with other secondary school pupils and few of their special classes offered any practice in the use of leisure facilities or attendance at social gatherings.

8. Although the number of cases in which suitable residential accommodation was not merely desirable but necessary was small, in those cases where the need did arise, it was urgent and exceedingly important.

9. The extent of the Youth Employment Officers' co-operation in the study showed that they were interested and keen to help handicapped school leavers. However, if they wished not merely to find a simple job for each mentally handicapped leaver but to take into account his individual aptitudes and weaknesses, the information with which they were supplied was seldom adequate. It was unlikely that

they were able to supplement that information by a thorough personal knowledge of the handicapped young person because the first interview usually took place only a few weeks before the leaving date. (The position in the area of the follow-up study has been changed recently by the introduction of a pre-leaving training course during which assessments can be made.)

B. Discussion of some Implications of the Findings

The suggestions made in this discussion are by no means new. Many of the schemes have been advocated for a number of years and some are already in operation in a few areas. When speaking of the need for them and the improvements they might effect the author has in mind conditions such as those that existed at that time in the area in which the detailed study was carried out. The general survey provided evidence that conditions in many other areas were likely to be as much, if not more, in need of improvement.

1. Despite the fact that Jackson's follow-up study and the present follow-up study suggest that between 30% and 40% of mentally handicapped school leavers in Scotland fail to make even a moderately successful adjustment to employment (and the trend of the evidence from the short-term follow-up throughout the country tends to support the findings of the longer follow-up), little provision has been made specifically for this group of persons. Some of them take up places in Senior Occupational Centres within a short time of leaving school, some wait unoccupied for a year or more before taking up places in such centres, the parents of some refuse to let them attend the centres and some attend them for a short while and then leave. The social lives of those without employment are generally very restricted. If a local authority expects only an occasional drop-out from employment among mentally handicapped school leavers, it is

unlikely to be able to do more than provide an occasional place among the severely subnormal. If, however, it is aware of the need to plan for the numbers suggested in this report, it may feel justified in devoting some resources to tackling the problems of this group of young people. There are two main lines of approach in handling these problems. One is an attempt to reduce the proportion of mentally handicapped leavers who fail to settle in employment by introducing improvements in their education and training and in the methods of placement. The other is an increase in suitable provision for those who fail. It may be argued that the first approach precludes the second; that it is wasteful of resources to make additional provision if one is planning to introduce improvements aimed at reducing the need. This argument is unacceptable, however, in circumstances in which the improvements are unlikely to be effective in reducing the need for a considerable time, in which the provision itself may play a part in reducing the need by cutting the time during which individuals require it and in which the provision is suitable for conversion to meet the needs of other categories of person, if no longer required for its original purpose. The author suggests that the need is unlikely to be reduced for a considerable time, partly because improvements in education and training will be competing against contrary economic forces. With rising national unemployment, it would be a considerable achievement to prevent a substantial increase in the proportion of mentally handicapped school

leavers who fail to secure and retain jobs. Some of the changes in school curriculum and organisation and in communications between various interested persons which will be discussed later in this chapter could be made almost immediately, (although the fact that some have been recommended for many years in reports, even official reports, and have not yet been put into practice, does not encourage optimism about their speedy implementation). Other changes aimed at reducing the numbers who fail to adjust to employment would take longer to put into operation since they require the purchase of equipment and the recruitment of staff, and possibly co-operation among several authorities. It is therefore unlikely that there will be any significant reduction in need in the immediate future. Even if the prospects of a reduction in need were good, it might well be possible when planning the provision, to take into consideration its later adaptation to other uses. A unit providing sheltered work for mentally handicapped school leavers might, if no longer required for this purpose, be adapted to form part of a scheme for the rehabilitation of former psychiatric patients. Since studies suggest that the work-potential of imbeciles has seldom been fully developed, it may be that in future there will be greatly increased pressure for more workshop provision for severely subnormal people than existing Occupation Centres can provide and redundant units for school leavers might be adapted for this purpose. Another possibility is the design of a unit incorporating both a pre-school-leaving training section and

a sheltered work section, so that if the pre-leaving training is effective and the need for post-leaving sheltered work declines, the sheltered work section can be contracted and the training section extended.

One of the most important features of any provision made is that it should be available to the young people as soon as their need is manifest. Numerous writers have observed how rapidly mentally handicapped school leavers lose their confidence and what skills they possess and how often their behaviour and appearance deteriorate if they fail to find suitable employment and are left to occupy themselves aimlessly at home or in the streets. If alternative purposeful activity is available quickly it can prevent this deterioration and thus improve the young people's chances of securing employment eventually. (This study showed that only a very small proportion of those who dropped out of employment in the first few weeks after leaving school, took up jobs in the reminder of the two-year follow-up period.) Each young person should have adequate opportunity after leaving school to secure a job, since highly unpredictable successes do occur, but if any difficulty is experienced, there is no reason why the young person should not be usefully occupied while efforts to find a suitable job continue. The results of this study have indicated that, if scores on social competence tests and teachers' ratings of certain attributes are taken into account, it is possible to make some prediction as to which leavers are most at risk. It should therefore be possible to form

a provisional estimate of what places may be required in the near future and ensure that those who need them are not kept waiting too long. If the places are in some kind of workshop or training establishment, this means, not only that those who can move on to outside employment should be encouraged to do so, but also that any young people who have been in the unit for a long time and whose work is below the general standard may have to be considered for transfer to the Occupation Centre. For ease of organisation and for the sake of its image in the minds of parents, it is desirable that a unit where productive work is done and where the prospects of the workers' moving on to outside employment are reasonable, should be kept separate from a centre where those attending will never progress beyond diversionary activities or the simplest type of sheltered work. The instruction given in such a unit and the type of work undertaken could be rather more ambitious than that in an Occupation Centre. If it is to fulfil its purpose, it should be a hopeful place and not one seen by outsiders as a dumping-ground for people whose prospects of employment are hopeless. (This comment does not imply that the author herself considers the Occupation Centre to be a "dumping ground". It too should command sufficient resources and staff of the calibre to make it a cheerful place where those who attend are respected as individuals. Nevertheless its function is different from that of a unit where less severely subnormal young people are given a chance to do a proper job of work in sheltered conditions and if possible helped to

adjust to the requirements of open employment.) If the numbers for whom an authority is responsible do not justify the establishment of a sheltered work unit and co-operation with other authorities in such a project is not feasible, it might be possible to devise a system whereby people other than regular employers legally provide temporary occupation for these young people while permanent employment is sought. A local authority might be empowered to draw up a list of people willing to assist it in this way, much as it does its list of people willing to act as foster parents. As in the case of foster parents, a careful investigation of their suitability would have to be made to prevent exploitation or abuse of the system.

Some writers have suggested a system of extended schooling for those former special school pupils who fail in employment. The author is not inclined to favour the idea of a return to school as a general policy, although it may be necessary in very unusual circumstances. Most special schools have waiting lists and any return to school by older pupils might delay the admission of younger children who are needing special educational treatment. The tone of the top class might be altered if it were too heavily weighted with pupils who had had problems of adjustment and this would not be fair to other pupils. For the young person who has failed to secure or retain employment, such a return might involve considerable humiliation. In addition to his personal unhappiness, his resentment might cause him to be a disturbing influence in class. On the

other hand, some leavers who have depended on the school for their security, might not make the necessary effort to adjust to employment if they knew that, by failing, they could return to the familiar place and familiar people.

2. Although the proportion of mentally handicapped school leavers who do not adjust easily to employment appears to be higher than has sometimes been suggested, the fact that in the present study some mentally handicapped leavers not only held jobs in open competition but were considered by their employers to be superior workers to their fellow employees, is a reminder that we should not be under-ambitious for the potentially successful workers among the special class leavers. The attitude that a mentally handicapped school leaver is lucky to get a job of any type may be understandable in times of high unemployment when school leavers with certificates are thankful for a chance to take labouring jobs, but it is not an attitude with which we should be content. Strange as it may sound to those among whom this attitude prevails, there is evidence that some mentally handicapped young people go into jobs that are below their capacities. Obviously, anything that encourages unrealistic aspirations does a disservice to the young people themselves, but it is in the interests of those who are likely to prove steady workers that they should be encouraged to develop a confident approach to work, so that, if they have the ability to improve their position, they are not held back on account of their own diffidence. There is no sound reason why many mentally handicapped young people should not

start a job in the expectation that, if they work conscientiously, they will be considered on the same terms as other employees for promotion to more interesting, more responsible or more highly paid work. While it is desirable to discourage the unstable from changing jobs for trivial reasons, it is not desirable that good workers should be so conscious of their handicaps that they are too nervous to change dead-end jobs for ones with better prospects if the opportunities arise.

The possibility of increasing the pupils' confidence by training for social competence will be discussed later in this chapter. Here we consider the further question of whether industrial training given before the pupils leave school can be of use to those who are thought likely to make particularly good workers. At present there is confusion over the aims of pre-leaving industrial training. Some advocates appear to regard it mainly as a means of increasing the employability of the pupils who are least likely to succeed in employment. To take part in some schemes, however, those pupils thought most capable of benefiting because they are the most competent and most stable are chosen. The evidence of this study suggests that those who would be chosen as being the most competent and most stable in a class of mentally handicapped pupils would be likely, even without industrial training, to secure employment and remain in it with few periods of unemployment for at least the first two or three years after leaving. Therefore those responsible for training schemes have to

decide what it is that young people of this type stand to gain from the course, if selected to take part. Probably the pupils most likely to benefit from such a course are those whose adjustment would otherwise be of the kind described as partial or borderline. Most studies, however, tend to show that this borderline group is a small one in comparison with the groups at the ends of the distribution of employment success. It is important that the person running the course should know the group which he is aiming to help so that he can design the course to suit their needs. It may be that he or his committee will decide not to be selective but to try to help all mentally handicapped leavers in the area. If this is the case, it is still important for him to realise that this is what he is aiming to do and to be aware of the different needs involved, so that he can plan the course appropriately. An unsystematic hotch-potch of instruction may do some good but it is unlikely to be sufficiently effective to justify the expenditure on machinery and staff. Ideally on an industrial training course there would be a supply of jobs of different levels of difficulty, requiring different types of operation, so that an assessment could be made of particular aptitudes and weaknesses that might not have been apparent in the trainee's school work. In this respect, a course in an educational context may have an advantage over one in a setting where tasks are dependent upon whatever contract work happens to be available. In an educational context such aspects as practice in standing

for long periods can be graded. Helpful as it is for trainees to become accustomed to standing, it seems pointless for the less physically robust to be so wearied by continued standing at the beginning of the course that they have no energy to concentrate on other aspects of the training or to achieve an output that will give them a sense of satisfaction. In a school or college setting, however, it may be more difficult to arrange for pupils to have the experience of working for longer hours than the normal school day. It is widely accepted by advocates of pre-leaving industrial training that the course should not be narrowly vocational in the sense of preparing the trainees for one type of industry. Its function is rather to develop sensible attitudes to work generally, for instance to dispel undue nervousness of machinery but to instil an appreciation of the dangers of machines if carelessly handled. General alertness is also encouraged. In school the pupils may have grown accustomed to having instructions repeated, perhaps several times, if they were day-dreaming when the instructions were first given. They may have grown accustomed to ignoring posters and notices in public places because they do not expect to be able to read them properly. On the course they learn that lack of alertness can result in faulty workmanship or a reduction in speed and that this can anger both supervisors and fellow workers and cause a loss of earnings not only for themselves but for their workmates. It is useful for them to learn that, whatever job they do, there are likely to be other employees

waiting on their work and that these others can be expected to feel let down and irritated if the job is delayed or not done properly. These things can be taught at a very simple level to the potentially least employable pupils, for those with higher work potential the demands of the course can be made more challenging. Industrial training is not without value to a handicapped leaver if it does no more than make the transition from school to work happier and less nerve-racking for him, but it may be that a training course can improve the long-term prospects for the employable leaver by helping him to develop a more confident approach. An industrial training course is probably more valuable when associated with the kind of social training that will be discussed later (Chapter 7B5). When training experiences are carefully linked with academic work, this may make the work more meaningful to the pupils and so raise the level of attainments. The potentialities of pre-leaving industrial training should continue to be explored by giving different types of course a trial in different types of area, but its effectiveness in improving employment prospects can only be tested by properly conducted longitudinal research. The improvement of employment prospects may not be the only criterion of its value but those responsible for running a course should know whether they are in fact achieving success in this respect. It is important therefore that careful records should be kept of the trainees' progress before and after leaving school.

3. The extent to which mentally handicapped young people also suffer from physical handicaps is not always appreciated. The local authority should ensure that because these young people have been assessed as being primarily mentally handicapped, they are not denied the aids to which their physical handicaps entitle them. Often the mentally handicapped come from families that are unlikely to be aware of the aids and facilities available. The stigma that they feel has attached to them on account of their ascertainment may make them averse to any kind of registration with the local authority. A physical disability that is not severe enough to constitute an impediment to the functioning of a person of normal intelligence may be too great for a subnormal person to overcome without help. It may therefore be necessary for those local authorities who insist upon the satisfaction of stringent criteria for a person to qualify for aid, to relax their requirements somewhat when dealing with subnormal people, taking into account the combined effect of the physical and mental handicaps. It should not be assumed that if a young person takes up employment he requires no further help in coping with his disabilities. One might take an example in which the only job open to a lad is with a firm that cannot be reached from his home by public transport unless he is prepared to wait for some time without shelter while changing buses. He accepts this and manages well enough during the summer but he suffers from a disability which renders him unable to stand exposure to cold and damp in winter without

damage to his health. After a couple of absences for sickness, he knows that he will be unable to keep his job unless he makes alternative travel arrangements, but his family have no contacts and no ingenuity. A little help in making alternative travel arrangements (which need not involve the expenditure of large sums of public money) might enable him to remain in employment, but if his case was closed as being in no further need of care when he entered employment, those who could advise him may not hear of his need and no help will be forthcoming.

The fact that in the general survey Youth Employment Officers reported only 25% of the subjects as having physical disabilities whereas the evidence of the more detailed study (and of Jackson's) suggests a figure of approximately 50%, is disquieting. There are some disabilities about which it is essential for the Youth Employment Officer to know because they would be a source of danger in some types of employment. There are some disabilities about which he should know because certain types of employment would impose too severe a strain upon those suffering from them. There are some disabilities which are not likely to be associated with danger or physical damage but the young people suffering from them might find it somewhat harder to succeed in one type of job rather than another. In circumstances of high unemployment, when the Youth Employment Officer is glad to find even a moderately suitable vacancy, it will not be possible for him to take account of minor disabilities, but in times when there is some choice

between vacancies, knowledge of these disabilities may make a considerable difference to the nature of the Youth Employment Officer's advice. The discrepancy between the rates in the general survey and those in the detailed study might be more acceptable if they could be attributed to respect for the confidentiality of medical records. The nature of the disabilities reported, however, suggests that the Youth Employment Officer's ignorance of an additional handicap may as often be the result of a chance failure of communication as of a pre-determined general policy not to reveal medical information. The question of the extent to which medical information should be revealed to Youth Employment Officers and teachers deserves a thorough examination. At present, practice appears to vary with the custom in the area and the views of the officials concerned. It is right that the privacy of the child and his parents should be respected, the mentally handicapped are as much entitled as anyone to have the confidentiality of their medical records preserved. Nevertheless, the Youth Employment Officer and the teacher cannot always do their work properly unless certain information of a medical nature is available to them. The working party of the British Council for Rehabilitation recognised this and stated, "Confidentiality is a problem but does not operate in the best interests of those it seeks to protect if the Youth Employment Officer has to ferret out information in order to help him." The author wonders whether the possibility of obtaining the parent's consent to the passing of information or of persuading

the parent himself to pass it to the Youth Employment Officer is always as fully and tactfully explored as it might be.

It could be argued that it is less important for teachers to be given medical information, since they are less likely than employers to involve the young people in situations where there is risk. It might be considered sufficient to advise the teacher that a child should not take part in strenuous activity or receive certain types of punishment. The special class teacher might respond that it is part of her job in educating the child to help him to face up to his disabilities and to find ways of overcoming them. It is difficult for her to handle a child wisely if she does not know that his lethargy is due to his being treated with a drug or that his aggressiveness is the symptom of a medical condition. It can cause resentment if the teacher is given the impression that she is not being trusted with certain information about a pupil although she is entrusted with his education and daily care. Unfortunately, the medical profession sometimes conveys the impression that information is withheld from "laymen", including treachers, because they are incapable of understanding it and are therefore liable to be influenced in their treatment of the person concerned by their misconceptions about the nature of his condition or liable in some unspecified way to misuse such information. If this attitude is justified, as it may be in some cases, it would seem to the author to provide an argument, not in favour of

a policy of keeping teachers in ignorance, but rather in favour of giving them better guidance by means of case-conferences with medical officers and of ensuring that their training equips them to understand the implications of any medical information they may be given and to treat it as a matter of professional confidence. The author does not suggest that teachers should be given free access to their pupils' medical files, but that, if a child's appearance, behaviour or performance may be affected by a medical condition, this should be discussed with his teacher by a medical officer, and that, if a teacher suspects that there may be a physical cause when an aspect of a pupil's development gives her concern, she should feel free to confide her anxieties to a medical officer. Where an exchange of information does take place, it is usually channelled through the headteachers with no contact between class teachers and medical officers. This arrangement does not always work satisfactorily and may be particularly difficult where a set of special classes is attached to an ordinary school. Being in daily contact with a pupil in a small class, a teacher is unlikely to remain entirely ignorant of any disease or disability. In the absence of official briefing, she will make her own observations and pick up confused scraps of information from the child, his parents, other teachers, other pupil's parents and neighbours. There would appear to be less likelihood of her passing on what information she possesses to unauthorised persons if she has received it in a professional setting, especially

if she has been trained to respect its confidence as members of other professions are. Many parents would have no objection to the passing of such information to a teacher if they were shown that it was in the child's interests. The problem arises when it is obvious that the parents would be unwilling to give, or incapable of giving, consent, and the medical officer is therefore not at liberty to disclose facts that the teacher should know in the interests of the child's education. This is a topic that might well be investigated thoroughly as part of a wider investigation into threats to individual liberty since there is increasing public concern at present about the official collection of personal information and possible intrusion upon the privacy of individuals.

A number of the subjects who left school with speech defects had received therapy, or had at least been interviewed by a therapist, at some time during childhood. It was seldom clear from the records whether treatment was discontinued because the child's speech was improved to the extent that improvement was possible or because a therapist with sufficient time to take the case was no longer available or because the child or his parents had failed to co-operate. When a pupil is entering his final school year, an assessment should be made of the adequacy and clarity of his speech. This need not be a formal or technical assessment and should be done unobtrusively. At this stage it might be sufficient for someone not accustomed to the pupils' speech to be asked to chat with them for a time and to record the fact if he

notices that any have speech difficulties. In cases where the defects are slight and do not impede intelligibility, it might be wiser, instead of drawing attention to the matter by sending the pupil for therapy or by attempting to correct individual defects, to try to help him by working with the whole class in ways designed to improve the quality of speech generally. Where defects are severe, however, these pupils should be given priority for skilled treatment before they leave school. Their motivation for co-operation in treatment is likely to be higher than it was at an earlier age.

4. The fact that teachers' ratings of perseverance, reliability and industry proved to be the best predictors of employment adjustment, whereas their ratings of honesty and emotional maturity had a much weaker relationship with subsequent adjustment, might usefully be investigated further. The discrepancy may have been due to deficiencies in the scales of emotional maturity and honesty, to the fact that teachers are less successful in rating these attributes or to the fact that these attributes are less important to adjustment. Much of the work on teachers' ratings consists of statistical exercises designed to examine what these ratings reveal about the teachers' attitudes and biases. There is room for much practical investigation of the usefulness of such ratings in making decisions about a pupil's future. If a teacher is asked to make ratings of certain attributes, the results might be found to be more useful

than if she is asked to give a blanket judgement on a pupil's capability or her opinion as to what course of action is appropriate. Whatever method of tapping their knowledge is adopted, it is desirable for teachers to feel assured that attention is paid to their assessments. The fact that in this study the combined teachers' ratings had such a strong relationship with adjustment shows that their assessments deserve attention. It is not uncommon for the views of those who work in daily contact with subjects to be undervalued. Speaking in 1970 at a conference concerned with subnormality, Dr. Kushlick, director of research into mental subnormality for the Wessex Regional Hospital Board, said that the most important people were those in daily contact with the mentally retarded at "shop-floor" level, but that their hands were often tied by policies which could be traced up to the highest levels. Teachers too can feel themselves to be cut off from decision-making and impotent to prevent some official action (or non-action) which they believe to be detrimental to the child. It does not make for good relations in the education service if teachers are given the impression that decisions are based almost exclusively upon the judgements of people who see the pupil only in a test situation or a brief interview, never in his everyday work situation among his peers. Better consultation with teachers might do much to improve morale in those special schools where it is low and this might generate new enthusiasm and raise the standards of teaching. It might also increase the teachers' willingness to participate in

projects that involve the mastery of new methods and require preparation of material or supervision of pupils beyond the limits of school hours. Even in circumstances of full consultation, decisions will sometimes be made that are contrary to the teachers' views, since teachers do not always know what is best for their pupils, but they are more likely to accept such decisions without resentment if they know that their assessments receive careful consideration and are not set aside without sound reasons.

One factor that can prevent full understanding by a teacher of a pupil's best interests is a bad relationship between home and school. Although there are teachers who display remarkable tact and sympathy with even the most uncooperative parents, others reveal antagonistic attitudes towards pupils' families in general or towards certain families in particular. When a child comes from very adverse material and/or moral circumstances and his parents appear not to care for his welfare, it is natural for a teacher to feel that she is fighting a battle for his future against the forces of the home. When the child senses her feelings about his home, as he almost certainly will, a conflict may arise within him between his loyalty to his family and his loyalty to his teacher and this may cause anxiety which will impede his learning. In any battle between home and school for the loyalty of a young person with few intellectual interests, the odds are against the teachers. It is part of the school's function to try to compensate for the deficiencies of the home and to introduce

its pupils to values other than those encountered there, but this is done more effectively without personal antagonism and conflict. It is not easy for a teacher to remain friendly and understanding towards parents who are awkward and suspicious, even hostile, but it is nearly always in the pupil's interests for her to endeavour to do so.

A teacher's basic attitude towards the parents of her pupils is something that needs to be considered at the teacher-training stage. Student teachers can be helped to appreciate the strength of the ties which bind a child to those who have reared him, even when they have reared him unwillingly or unkindly. Students can be trained to look forward to finding their satisfaction in a role which does not compete with that of the parent, even though the teacher may be called upon to help compensate for the lack of affection and security which the child has experienced. A glance through the case-histories included in this thesis shows how often teachers in special classes have to deal, not only with children from homes where there are social problems but also with children from homes where there are severe and complex psychological problems, indeed with children who have severe psychological problems themselves. Training alone cannot equip them for this, their effectiveness in handling pupils from unstable homes will depend also upon their own personalities and their experience, but training can modify their attitudes and, to a considerable extent, determine whether they profit from their experience or are hardened by it. It is important that those responsible for

the training should be seen to have a thorough working knowledge of the problems, otherwise the more cynical attitudes encountered in some staff rooms may appear to the young teacher to be more realistically based than the training she has received. Some training establishments have introduced associated training courses for teachers and social workers. Such courses may be of particular value to those who are going to work in classes for mentally handicapped pupils.

There is a number of ways in which the attitudes of serving teachers towards particular families may be modified, especially if these attitudes have been based on incomplete or outdated information about the home circumstances. One approach is to arrange case-conferences between school staff and those social workers who visit the homes in the course of their duties, another is to arrange for a teacher to work part-time as a home visitor, a third is to appoint a liaison officer to work between the schools and the homes. Many of the observations made about case-conferences with medical officers also apply to those with social workers, since the kind of personal information obtained in the course of a social worker's duties is often as confidential as that of a medical nature. Some difficulties might be encountered in arranging for various social workers to attend the conferences and, if too many were involved, the meetings between school staff and any one social worker might be too infrequent for them to establish that relationship of trust and mutual understanding that makes for a useful conference.

The difficulties are less likely to occur since the re-organisation of the social services which has reduced the number of workers visiting any one home, but there remains the problem of the homes that do not require the intervention of the social services in any respect other than that of having a handicapped child. One can hardly expect social workers with already heavy case-loads of families in considerable distress to undertake regular visits to homes which appear to be functioning satisfactorily. Where there is a social worker attached to the Child Guidance Clinic, an attachment which is usual in England but less common in Scotland, this person might be regarded as the most appropriate to continue the visiting, begun when the child was referred to the clinic, and to discuss cases regularly with the teachers. However, these posts are generally occupied by the more highly qualified social workers who are in short supply and such an extension of their work might not be regarded as the most profitable use of their time.

An impression of the operation of an alternative arrangement is given in an article by Salaman (1970), in which a teacher who has been appointed to work part-time as a home visitor describes his initial experiences in this work. Although this arrangement works very well in some circumstances, its feasibility is doubtful in conditions such as those existing in the area of the follow-up study. There the special class pupils' homes are scattered over a wide area, so any visiting would involve considerable

travelling time. The special class units are small, so there would be fewer colleagues in the school to share the burden of teaching extra pupils during the absence of the teacher carrying out the visits. Additional staff could be appointed as part of the scheme, but as specially trained teachers of the mentally handicapped are scarce and many of the children already have to have some of their instruction from unqualified people, this might be considered a misuse of staff resources. As the units are small there are few staff from among whom to choose a suitable person to work as a home visitor. It might be easier to organise a scheme whereby each teacher visited the homes of her own pupils and was absent from school for this purpose no more than two or three afternoons per week. However, some members of staff might not be suited to this task although their teaching work was excellent. It would be unfortunate if their ability in their chosen job were less esteemed because they did not have the particular gifts required to adapt to this other role or if their lives were made anxious by having to undertake a function which represented a form of social ordeal for them. Some children, especially those who already have a sense of inadequacy, might not welcome the idea of frequent contact between their parents and their teacher, as children can be made very uneasy by the feeling that they are being talked about. A degree of separation between school and home may enable them to achieve self-respect and status in one when they feel themselves to be failures in the other. Older pupils from

from squalid homes or with unstable parents might be sensitive about their teachers seeing these aspects of their lives or they might not wish their parents to see their teacher if there is a risk of her becoming a subject for criticism or amusement in the home.

A third possible approach to the problem is the appointment of an officer whose specific duty is to act as a link between the homes of handicapped pupils and their schools. Whether the officer would act in this way on behalf of all the handicapped pupils in a smaller area, or on behalf of the mentally handicapped only over a wider area would depend upon local circumstances, including such factors as the number and location of the special classes. The author would prefer such a person to be regarded principally as an information officer rather than as a social worker. His visits to the home would not be confined to times of crisis or strain, his purpose would not be seen as the prevention of breakdown or the retrieval of the situation after breakdown has occurred, although he may incidentally make a valuable contribution in these respects. His job in the home would be to tell the parents what they have a right to know, namely what is going on in the school, what education and help their child is receiving and how he is responding. If this could be established as an important aspect of his role, his visits would be less likely to meet hostility and rejection from those parents who resent any suggestion that their families require supervision or care. At the same time he would gather information

about the home and the parents' view of the child's development and report back to the teachers. Although his function would differ from that of a social worker he would need to possess similar understanding and skills. As the pupil approached school leaving age the information which the officer took to the home verbally could be supplemented by literature specially prepared to advise parents of mentally handicapped pupils about the opportunities and facilities available to their children on leaving school and the ways in which their home can help them. Many Child Welfare Clinics now distribute very simple, illustrated literature on aspects of baby care and topics such as safety in the home. There is no reason why equally simple, but non-patronising, material should not be prepared to assist parents in giving school leavers the support they require. Whether such an information officer should rightly be within the education department or within the social services department would be a matter for discussion. If he were in the education department, an arrangement which is perhaps more consistent with his role while the young person is at school, this might cause problems if it were thought desirable for the same officer, having established a relationship, to continue to visit after the young person has left school. (In England the position of the education welfare service which had long been established in some areas was not redefined with the passing of the Local Authority Social Services Act 1970 and the matter still awaits clarification.)

It should not be assumed that the improvements in teacher training and communications advocated in this section would also increase the predictive value of teachers' ratings. It could be that in the follow-up study teachers' ratings were the best predictors of post-school adjustment because some of the teachers concerned shared some of the prejudices that the subjects were likely to encounter among people in the outside world. If this were so, then improving the teachers' understanding of the pupils and their backgrounds might make it more difficult for them to form judgements of the kind involved in the ratings. Even if this were so, and in fact quite the contrary might be true, maintaining the usefulness of predictors of adjustment would be no justification for preserving the status quo if changes could help to raise the level of adjustment itself.

5. Because those pupils who scored highly on tests of social adaptation and social knowledge tended to adjust better socially and to employment, it might be thought that, by giving prospective leavers instruction which will raise their scores on such tests, we shall improve their subsequent adjustment. This conclusion would go beyond the evidence of the study. All that has been shown is that, in the absence of specific systematic instruction, those who have acquired social skills and knowledge, adjust comparatively well after leaving school. Their adjustment may not be due so much to the possession of the particular skills and knowledge as to the qualities of temperament

and personality that have enabled them to acquire these skills despite lack of specific instruction.

Having sounded this note of caution, the author would nevertheless wish to advocate a much greater effort to include in the curriculum for prospective leavers the kind of instruction described in the works cited in this connection in the introduction. Before leaving every pupil should have at least some tuition in shopping, using the telephone, filling in forms, writing letters, finding out about the times and destinations of buses and trains and travelling on them, what is involved in visiting the doctor, dentist, or out-patients' department, budgeting, safety in the home and on the road, the operation of those social services that are likely to be relevant to their needs and those laws that will affect them and, since they will be eligible to vote within two years of leaving, the work of the local council and of Parliament. Obviously some pupils will be unable to cope with anything but the most elementary instruction on some of these topics and will require repeated and prolonged practice to attain the skills that will be most useful to them. Others will have acquired these skills as part of their experience outside school and will be responsive to teaching on matters of civic interest. The pupils' knowledge can be extended by visits outside the school and, wherever possible, differences in their capacities should be taken into account when these visits are planned. The way in which they can provide information that might usefully be passed to the Youth Employment Officer is

described in Slow Learners at School. "A carefully planned programme of school visits should enable the staff to know whether a noisy or a quiet job is preferred, an indoor or an outdoor life, a comparatively lonely job, such as a gardener's or a gregarious one in a factory." The kind of social development course described in this section requires considerable organisation. There are particular difficulties in schools where staff numbers are small or where one teacher is responsible for pupils of a wide age range, and it cannot be carried through on an outing allowance of a few shillings per pupil per year. If a local authority wishes the recommendations concerning social training that have been made in several official publications to be put into effect in its special schools, it must accept the responsibility of providing adequate staff and finance. There is also, however, scope for enlisting the help of people outside the school and this might have the added value of awakening interest in the pupils among members of the local community. Television, radio and film might also be used to much better advantage than they are in many special schools.

6. Training for social competence is of particular importance when one considers the magnitude of the social problems which some young people have to face. A glance through the case-histories shows that, not only those who were unable to adjust, but also some of the leavers who adjusted most successfully had to overcome severe social disadvantages and that, within a very short time of leaving, some had to undertake substantial responsibilities in most

unhelpful conditions. One thinks of the girl whose mother died and whose father became unemployed, struggling to run the poorly furnished house and care for four younger siblings, three of them mentally handicapped; of the almost blind boy with an almost blind, unemployed father and four older siblings, all nearly blind and mentally handicapped, being himself the family's only wage-earner; of the boy whose father had deserted the family and had been convicted for manslaughter, acting as man of the house for his mother and for his two siblings when they were allowed home visits from the institutions in which they resided, or of the girls who had married and were managing homes of their own. A short time earlier they were in the restricted, protective environment of the special class, a class that probably included children several years younger than themselves. Because of their low reading ages they were reading material designed for much younger children and because of their intellectual immaturity they were probably being treated as much younger children might be. Although the girls had some instruction and practice in cookery and needlework and the boys had lessons in woodwork and crafts, the type and extent of this practical instruction seems woefully inadequate as a preparation for the tasks that were to confront them so soon afterwards. The following extract from Slow Learners at School shows a realistic appreciation of the needs (although the homes from which this study's subjects came were by no means all "generously equipped with mechanical aids"):

Happy human relationships and successful marriage depend, of course, more on personal qualities than on domestic and economic efficiency, but incompetence can jeopardise a happy family life. Understandably therefore the practical subjects have become the focal points of the curriculum in special schools.

The importance of the family in the welfare and happiness of human beings and the vital rôle it has to play in the mental health of young and old alike need no emphasis. Special schools offer an experience of living closely, resembling a well-run, kindly home in the responsible behaviour that is expected, in the domestic duties performed, in the care and choice of clothes, the conduct of meals, the care of pets, and in the quality of material surrounding.

Good feeding and adequate hygiene keep the family in good health. No cookery course for backward pupils can be considered complete if it has not given the girls -- and, if possible, the boys too -- experience of shopping, of preparing a variety of simple, nourishing meals and of serving and eating them graciously. This is more important to a family than the most delicate array of fancy cakes and pastries which a busy housewife will almost certainly buy ready made. The cookery course should teach the intelligent use of pre-packed, tinned and frozen foods, as well as of prepared cake-mixtures. To learn to use the right tools is an important element in the training. Experience of shopping and familiarity with homely measures will lend reality to arithmetic; to refer to simple recipe books and household magazines is to make natural use of the ability to read.

A homemaking course should also take account of the actual working conditions in the modern home. In the last two decades improvements in housing have been marked, and many once poor homes are now generously equipped with mechanical aids -- electric cleaners and irons, washing machines and spin-driers, refrigerators, gas and electric cookers. Training in their efficient use is a modern necessity.

The needlecraft course should also come to terms with the likely needs of the girls, and of the boys, after school. Now that attractive clothes of good design can be purchased relatively cheaply, few girls, unless they have special gifts, are likely to make their own dresses, but to be able to mend and care for clothes is a useful art. Good grooming and the art of choosing, wearing and caring for clothes should form part of the training of both girls and boys; if in a boarding school, they can in their last year

or so be given responsibility for buying and caring for their own clothes.

> Much of this training can be common to a course for girls and boys; no boy can be said to be educated if he cannot cook his own breakfast and sew on a button. Both sexes need some training in home economics, learning something of household maintenance, repairs and decoration. The ability to make the most of the wages and to resist advertisements and high-pressure salesmanship would increase the happiness of many families.

What even an excellent course in housecraft does not provide and what the case-histories indicate that many of the young people need is preparation for coping with adult relationships. At work, the majority appear to get on reasonably well with supervisors and work-mates, but some could be helped in this respect. Some find it extremely difficult to make any friends among people of their own age. There is another problem to which some of the girls appear to be susceptible. This is exemplified in the cases of the two girls who made unhappy marriages to young men of unstable personality (4Bvia4&5). Another girl had been going out for a year with a steady boy friend when he drank too much one evening and attacked her and her mother at their home, breaking the girl's nose and her mother's teeth and injuring a male neighbour who came to help. The police were called and the young man was later sentenced to four months' imprisonment. There was also the case of a subject whose fiancé was rumoured to be the father of a fellow student's baby (4Biv4) but this girl seems to have handled the matter with considerable vigour and there was no suggestion that this young man had violent or

delinquent tendencies. It is not easy to prepare young people to handle situations of this kind. General warnings of possible dangers ahead are not likely to be effective and may serve only to frighten those for whom such dangers will never arise. However, it may be possible for some of them to acquire insight into their own emotional reactions and ways of relating to people under the personal guidance of someone to whom they have been accustomed to confide their problems and who has the imagination to envisage the type of difficulties that may confront them in the future. It is sometimes assumed that special school pupils do not require the kind of specialised counselling which is now the subject of much consideration in secondary schools because, being in small classes, they can take their personal problems to their own class teachers. The extent to which special class pupils do in fact seek personal guidance from their teachers is doubtful but it should not be taken for granted that counselling is not among their needs. In some cases they may be unable even to formulate their problems and it may be necessary for an adult to take the initiative and devise ways of confronting them with problems that they can recognise as their own. Their vulnerability may be increased by the fact that they do not encounter until later some of the experiences which many normal young people encounter and learn to handle while they are still within the secure framework of school life.

7. The restrictions on contacts with their peers which special schooling imposes on mentally handicapped pupils may intensify their difficulties in making satisfactory adult relationships. The likelihood of a mentally handicapped child being rejected by his local peer group, may be increased if he travels some distance each day to a special school while all the other children in the neighbourhood attend the local school. (Of the 37 subjects who took the tests twice at a year's interval, the mean score on the sub-scale Socialisation of Leisure in the Manchester Scales was lower at sixteen than at fifteen. Comments made by some of the young people themselves suggested one possible reason for the drop. Up to the age of fifteen, some of them had friends attending ordinary schools with whom they played in out-of-school hours. (Two testees each had a twin at an ordinary school.) A year later, however, these friends were at work, their interests and time available for leisure pursuits had changed and the subjects, whether justifiably or not, felt that their former friends no longer wanted their company.) Within the special class the range of friendships is limited, there may be only two or three pupils of one age. The school staff should be aware of these restrictions and should be encouraged with the co-operation of other schools to compensate for them. No policy of compensation was apparent in the schools which the author visited in the course of this study. Even when the pupils attended nearby secondary schools for instruction, they saw little of the schools'

pupils, there appeared to be no mixing, either in lessons or socially. There were no reports of sporting fixtures, dances or other activities in which the special class pupils could join with those from ordinary secondary schools. Only one school ran a club. Admittedly such clubs are not entirely helpful if they encourage former pupils to return always to the familiar surroundings rather than venturing to make contacts and join organisations in the wider community. Properly organised, however, they can play a valuable part in helping young people to develop social ease and the confidence they need to join other organisations.

> The school is fortunate that can not only run clubs of its own but which also has in the neighbourhood a well-run 'outside' group, so that members can graduate from one to the other. The 'school' group can contain both present and former pupils as well as 'outside' members, providing security in the company of known companions and familiar surroundings. These clubs have an important role to play in supporting pupils during their first years at work.
> (The Slow Learner at School)

If the older special class pupils were more often able to participate in activities with secondary school pupils, this might have the incidental advantage of educating some educators about the nature of mentally handicapped young people. Although within a certain intelligence range, chance factors play a considerable part in determining whether a child shall be sent for special schooling, it seems that even in the minds of some people whose work is connected with education those children who have been ascertained have been shut off in a separate compartment

as if they were essentially different from ordinary children. When the author was teaching E.S.N. pupils in a London borough an official from the education department visited the school to discuss the new lavatories to be built for the pupils. He suggested that the doors should be of a different design from those in ordinary schools so that the teachers (and presumably the taller pupils) could easily see over them. After the author had spoken about handicapped pupils to a local women's meeting, a member of the Special Schools Sub-Committee, who had been in the audience, approached her and expressed the anxiety she had felt since hearing at a committee meeting that woodwork tools, including proper saws and chisels, had been purchased for the senior E.S.N. boys. She was distressed to think of sharp tools being put into the hands of "these sort of children." In correspondence about some further education courses, one of the people responsible for running them stated, "An E.S.N. school leaver would find it impossible to succeed in one of the courses." The statement may have been perfectly true, but in the same letter he cited examples of students who had taken the courses whose attainments appeared to be lower than those of some E.S.N. pupils.

Since none of the subjects of the present study was from an ordinary school, the author has no evidence from it to contribute to a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the educational segregation of handicapped pupils. She did, however, observe that the attached special classes she visited were not integrated with ordinary schools and

that, in so far as it disguises the social isolation of the special class pupils and allows those responsible for educational organisation to ignore the problem, this kind of attachment is not a satisfactory arrangement. It is sometimes disheartening for those who have long been concerned with handicapped pupils to see ideas which were advanced many years ago for the purpose of helping special school leavers, but which have not yet been put into general practice in special schools, being taken up and adopted in ordinary secondary schools. Such ideas as work-experience schemes, part-time home visiting by teachers, attachment of social workers to schools, improved opportunities for vocational and personal guidance have all been repeatedly advocated for the handicapped but, while interest in these is now developing rapidly in ordinary schools, it often seems that the special school pupils are being left behind. Ideally, special schooling should be a compensatory experience, with its high staff:pupil ratio it might be regarded as a privileged form of education rather than as a form of punishment. That it is not so regarded is evident from reports which suggest that a particular section of the community is being discriminated against if the proportion of its children who are sent to special schools is higher than the proportion in the general population. Unfortunately, there is some justification for the adoption of this attitude since, although special schools offer more individual attention and in some cases more specially trained teaching, the standards of their buildings and equipment are

often well below those of ordinary secondary schools. As the range of facilities and guidance opportunities in ordinary schools increases so does the comparative deprivation of pupils in special classes.

8. There was no residential school for educable mentally handicapped pupils in the area of the follow-up study. A child is further segregated from the community if he is sent to a residential institution. When a family is able to care reasonably well for a handicapped child, if necessary with the support of a social worker, the author (who has taught in a residential school) would not advocate this type of schooling. However, as the case histories have shown, there are circumstances in which the provision of residential accommodation is essential. Units for maladjusted children are seldom eager to accept those who are also mentally handicapped, nor are they accepted readily in ordinary children's homes. Where there is no provision for residential schooling the only alternative may be committal to a mental deficiency institution. This would appear to be a very extreme solution to an administrative problem and a denial of the needs of pupils who might most suitably be placed in residential schools. While not requiring long-term residential provision, some senior pupils might well benefit from short residential courses that would give them the experience of living away from home. After leaving school there are some who require hostel accommodation because of their unfortunate home circumstances or, in some areas, because there are no

employment opportunities within daily reach of their homes. It is possible that hostels could also offer a useful experience of temporary partial independence for some whose home circumstances are satisfactory. There is a need for experiment in the provision of hostels of different types and sizes and enquiry into whether mentally handicapped young people can happily live in a hostel alongside others who have attended ordinary schools or whether they require separate provision. Some authorities might usefully explore the question of how far a hostel can successfully be used as a base for further education and training or for social work with the homes.

9. On the question of improving the placement of mentally handicapped young people in employment it is difficult to do other than echo many of the suggestions already put forward on the basis of previous studies. One would, for instance, endorse the recommendation of the Scottish working party of the British Council for Rehabilitation that "Placing officers should have more time to acquire detailed knowledge of firms with special reference to the physical and psychological requirements of the various industrial processes involved, and with the organisation and attitudes of the personnel with whom the disabled person is likely to come in contact." One would also agree with the statements in Slow Learners at School that "Consultations need to start at least a year before a boy or girl is ready to leave" and that "Confidential school reports need to be supplemented

by first-hand personal knowledge, so that the youth employment officer may know the pupils, and teachers be aware of the nature of the employment." All such recommendations, however, suggest the expenditure of more time by someone who is probably already fully occupied and who may have other interests in which he would like to specialise. To put such recommendations into practice therefore it might well be necessary to increase the number of Youth Employment Officers in general practice in an area or to appoint a specialist officer. On this subject there was a difference in emphasis between the recommendations of the English and Scottish working parties of the British Council for Rehabilitation. The English working party recommended "that the practice be extended of employing youth employment officers specialising in the needs of handicapped school leavers, their services preferably to be made available to other youth employment officers in an advisory capacity", whereas the Scottish working party stated "In general it is not recommended that there should be a specialist youth employment officer for the disabled, but in certain areas, e.g. large towns, a particular youth employment officer might be responsible for co-ordination of effort within the service in his area." Among those working in the service there are strongly held differences of opinion on this issue. Therefore, where such a specialist is appointed, a carefully conducted evaluation of his work is desirable. The suggestion is sometimes advanced that, to enable the officer to give more time to these cases,

handicapped pupils should have a different school leaving date from that of ordinary pupils. In the area of the follow-up study, however, the Youth Employment Officers did not always disclose the subjects' special school background when placing them and no doubt a number of those subjects who found work other than through the Youth Employment Officer refrained from mentioning it to their prospective employers. A different leaving date might be resented by leavers and their parents because it would mark them out in a way that could not be avoided.

This chapter has included discussion of a number of suggestions for piece-meal changes to improve the provision and prospects for mentally handicapped school leavers. What is really needed to bring about a general improvement in an area, however, is the presence there in an appropriate position of someone with a will and determination to carry the changes through. Repeatedly, when one comes across an area where the standards of provision and care are high, one finds that somewhere in a position of some authority is a person, perhaps an education officer, a medical officer or the headteacher of a special school, whose lively concern for the handicapped is combined with outstanding enthusiasm and drive. His innovations stimulate interest, demonstrate possibilities and generate enthusiasm among others. The results attract local publicity, the public becomes better informed, the whole dark subject of mental handicap is opened up. In themselves the mentally

handicapped have no power to form an effective pressure group, they are powerful only in so far as public opinion is stirred to support them. It requires a person of powerful (though not necessarily noisy) determination to dispel the ignorance that prevents concerted pressure on their behalf.

This ignorance, or in some cases a more harmful partial knowledge that causes people to think they know when they do not, is widespread. Teachers in special schools do not always know the full facts about their pupils' disabilities or their homes and families, they often do not know what is happening in cases where pupils have been referred for specialist advice, sometimes they do not know what happens to their leavers, many do not know about industrial conditions, about advances in teaching practice, about useful places to visit or people who could be asked to come to the school to speak. Teachers in other schools often do not know what goes on in special schools and having referred those pupils who were awkward or failing to learn, they file them mentally into a category separate from that of ordinary children if they are ascertained. Parents frequently know little about what happens in the school, they do not know what job opportunities exist, what facilities and services are available or where to go with their problems. Employers, youth leaders, community workers, even members of education committees and educational administrators often have false images of mentally handicapped school leavers and little practical understanding either of

their abilities or of their problems and limitations.

Because there is so much ignorance to dispel both before advances can be made and in the course of the advance, there is a strong case for the appointment of an information officer in each area with a function extended beyond that described in section B4 of this chapter. Such an officer might not only form a link between the school and the homes and improve the flow of information to and from the Youth Employment Officers but he might also consult with community workers and youth leaders and representatives of a variety of voluntary organisations, informing them of the needs of mentally handicapped young people generally and those of individual leavers in particular. Whether he were attached to the social services department or to the education department, such an officer would need both the ability to converse easily with people of low intelligence in poor circumstances and the intellectual calibre and professional status to command the respect and attention of administrators.

In a speech to which reference has already been made, Dr. Kushlick said that there was a considerable body of ignorance about the care of the mentally retarded, not only among the public but also among those who were responsible for them. He added that there was need to consider the training of those caring for the subnormal throughout the total range of personnel, including the administrators; all should work as a team, learn to question each other and to ask whether they were really doing what they thought they

were doing. In saying this, the speaker may have been referring principally to the mentally retarded in hospitals, but his comments are equally applicable to the education and after-care of educable mentally handicapped pupils. Perhaps the most important single advance would be for administrators at the highest levels to develop a greater awareness of the problems of mentally handicapped young people and a more practical understanding of their everyday needs.

A P P E N D I C E S

Note to the APPENDICES

The Appendices include a number of questionnaires. When the original forms were designed, considerable attention was paid to their lay-out. Care was taken to see that the questions were clearly set out and that adequate space was left for the type of response that might be expected to each question. Most of the forms, however, were on foolscap paper. In order to compress them to the requisite size for inclusion in this thesis, they have been reduced to a list of questions and no attempt has been made to reproduce the original spacing. Should anyone wish to make use of one of these questionnaires, he is advised to obtain a copy of the original form from the author.

SUBJ.	ENG.	MATHS.	PHYS.	CHEM.	T. D.	App MECH.	ARITH.	BIO.	HIST.	GEOG.	MOD. Studies	LANG.		TECH.
	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC.	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC.	ABC	ABC	ABC	Home Man
													ABC	D. & D.
I. Q. 1				*HANDICAP*				*POOR ATTENDANCE YES/NO*					ABC	M/W
I. Q. 2				*CATEGORY*				*REMARKS:*					ABC	W/W
I. Q. 3				*NOTES*									ABC	S
A. A.													ABC	T
													ABC	P. of A/cs
													ABC	Ec. ORG
													ABC	AGR.
													ABC	MUSIC
													ABC	ART

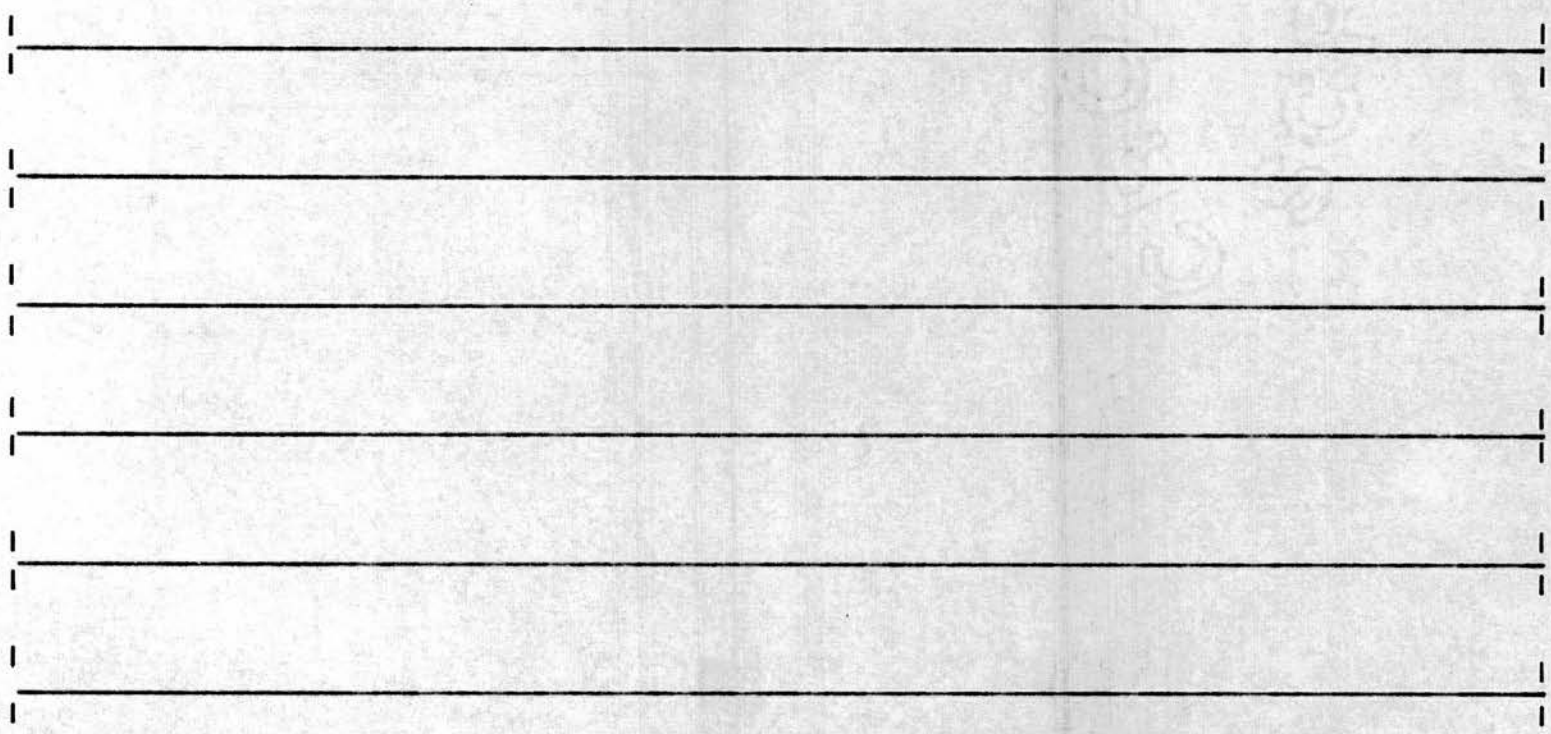
HEADMASTER'S REMARKS.

SEC CERT.	ENG.	MATHS.	PHYS.	MECH.	T. D.	GEN.SC.	M/W	W/W	ARITH.	ART	H/Craft		
EST.	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C		
PASS	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C		

INDUSTRY

You have a task to be completed which demands a capacity for hard work. In making your choice, where on the scale below would you put each ratee?

A	B	C	D	E
First choice	Would choose with confidence and would be surprised if he did not succeed	Might choose. A 50-50 chance that he would succeed	An unlikely choice	Would not choose under any circumstances



HONESTY

APPENDIX 2

Inadvertently, you leave 2/- on your desk and during the day it is stolen. In your investigation, where would you place the ratee on the scale below?

A	B	C	D	E
Would not suspect under any circumstances	Would suspect only if the evidence was completely damning	Unlikely suspect. No previous history of pilfering. A yielding to strong temptation, however cannot be ruled out	Possible suspect. There have been occasional lapses of a like nature in the past	Very suspect. Frequent incidents of a like nature in the past

PERSEVERANCE

Imagine a situation in which the school garden has to be weeded after a heavy growth during the summer holidays. If the ratee is chosen as one of a group to complete the task in an afternoon, how do you think he/she would stand up to the job? Record your judgement on the scale below.

A	B	C	D	E
Would work conscientiously for the whole period without supervision	Would work without supervision. Might succumb to distraction at latter end of afternoon when tiring	Would complete task, but casual or intermittent supervision would be necessary	Would complete only under strict supervision	Would not complete even under strict supervision. Would attempt to distract others

EMOTIONAL MATURITY

Imagine a situation in which you, as a teacher, have to make a most unpopular decision. How do you think the ratee would react? Record your judgement on the scale below.

A	B	C	D	E
Calm acceptance	Would show disappointment, but no ill-will	Would show annoyance, but of short duration	Would show bad temper, followed by sulky behaviour	Temper tantrum

RELIABILITY

Imagine a situation in which a pupil has to be entrusted to do a job demanding the utmost reliability. Where on the scale below would you place the ratee?

A	B	C	D	E
Would choose with complete confidence	Would choose with a fair degree of confidence	Might choose if no one else available, but there would be an element of risk in the choice	An unlikely choice	Would not choose under any circumstance

APPENDIX 3a

EMPLOYMENT RECORD

To be completed by research worker approximately one month after the subject has left school.

Name:

School:

Date of leaving:

Were parents present?

Pupil's job preference:

Parents' job preference:

Officer's recommendation:

Date when job arranged:

Was job found by Y.E.O?

If not, by whom was it arranged?

Date of taking up work:

Employer:

Nature of job:

Wages:

Conditions:

If no longer in First Employment

Date of leaving job:

Reason for leaving:

Date of starting second job:

Employer:

Nature of job:

Wages:

Conditions:

Any further job changes or further information:

Date of completing this form:

Source of information:

APPENDIX 3b

Name:

Date of birth:

Date of taking up employment	Nature of occupation	Whether placed by Y.E.O.	Wages	Conditions	Date of leaving	Reasons for leaving

Any further comments on progress or prospects:

APPENDIX 4

Name:

Exact nature of job performed:

PROFICIENCY

How does the young person's standard, or quality, of work compare with that of others employed on the same operation?

How does the young person's output compare with that of others employed on the same operation? (If you can give actual comparative output figures, these would be helpful.)

How does his/her speed of working compare with that of others employed on the same operation?

CONSCIENTIOUSNESS

Does this young person keep good time?

Does he/she require constant supervision or does he/she work steadily when not being supervised?

On how many occasions has the young person failed to turn up for work, other than for reasons of sickness or serious emergency?

PERSONAL RELATIONS

Does the young person get on well with workmates?

If not, what are the reasons for his/her failure to do so?

PERSONAL RELATIONS (continued)

Does the young person get on well with supervisors?

If not, what are the reasons for his/her failure to do so?

FLEXIBILITY

Has the young person successfully performed other operations than the one he/she is performing now? (please record details).

Has he/she had an unsuccessful trial on another operation, or in another department? If so, please specify and give the reasons for his/her failure.

Has the young person had experience of a) shift work
b) Saturday work
c) changes in hours?

If so, how did he/she react?

RESPONSIBILITY

Has the young person ever had responsibility for supervising others? If so, how did he/she respond?

Has the young person had responsibility for training others? if so, how did he/she respond?

Has the young person had other opportunities for exercising responsibility? If so, please specify and indicate how he/she responded.

TRAINING

What methods are generally used by your firm to train employees for the job this young person performs?

Please describe any changes in training methods that were made for his/her benefit.

Was someone particularly sympathetic put in charge of him/her?

How did his/her speed of learning compare with that of most employees when they train for this job?

RESPONSE TO INCENTIVES

Do you operate any kind of incentive scheme to which the young person has had a chance to respond? (please specify)

If so, has this incentive had a marked effect on his/her industriousness and output?

TENDENCY TO ACCIDENTS

Please record details of any accidents that the young person has caused or suffered at work.

HEALTH

Please record details of the young person's absences from work through sickness.

Date:

Signature:

Position in firm:

APPENDIX 5

Instructions to Youth Employment Officers for rating job performance on the basis of employer's replies to a questionnaire.

The instructions to raters were as follows:-

> Please put a ring round the letter which you think represents the degree of success with which the young person is coping with his/her job.
>
> A should be reserved for those who are outstandingly successful.
>
> B is appropriate for someone who is less outstanding but whose success is above average for the group.
>
> C is appropriate for those who are succeeding at about the average level for the group.
>
> D indicates that the person's success at work is below average.
>
> E is appropriate for those whose work and working relationships are poor.

Each young person should be rated on the basis of the employer's replies, according to his/her success in the job in question. The difficulty of the job performed and the amount of sympathy and special treatment the young person receives may be taken into consideration. In making the ratings, please ignore anything you may know about the person's employment record outside this particular job. (In my final analysis, I shall take into account other factors of the young people's records, such as periods of unemployment and number of jobs held). The object of this present rating procedure is to evaluate each young person's success in a particular job and is not concerned with other aspects of their records. The success of the young people attending Senior Training Centres should be rated in the same way but they should be rated as a completely separate group. They should be compared among themselves and not against the young people who are in open employment.

APPENDIX 6

Name: Date of Birth:

Address:

Physical Surroundings
Adequacy of accommodation. General state of cleanliness and order.

Mother (please specify relationship if not natural mother)
Is she in good health physically and mentally? Is she coping well with household and family? Has she a helpful attitude towards .....?

Father (please specify relationship if not natural father)
Is he in good health physically and mentally? Is he in regular employment? Has he a helpful attitude towards .....?

Siblings
Sex and ages of those living at home. Are any in trouble or giving rise to trouble at home? Are any having an undesirable influence on .....?

Other people in the home
What people are resident in the home apart from mother, father and sibs? Are they in good health? Is their presence a source of conflict in the home? Is their influence helpful or otherwise to .....?

Is ..... being over-protected or inadequately cared for?

How would you rate the support that this home and family give to the young person

excellent
very good
good
moderate
poor
very poor
extremely poor

Is ..... in any particular trouble at present?

Has he/she friends in his/her age-group?

Does he/she travel about without an escort?

How would you rate his/her social adjustment since leaving school

a) in comparison with other mentally handicapped leavers

excellent
very good
good
moderate
poor
very poor
extremely poor

b) in comparison with ordinary leavers

excellent
very good
good
moderate
poor
very poor
extremely poor

Further comments:

APPENDIX 7a

A. GENERAL

1. Name:

2. Address:

3. Date of Birth:

4. School attended:

5. Occupation:

6. Date(s) and duration of interview(s):

B. COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD

7.

Name	Relationship to subject	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Occupation or type of school attended(a)

(a) Note hours of mother's and subject's work. If any member employed irregularly or part-time only, note "irr." or "P.T."

8. Information about parents or siblings of subject who do not live in household:

C. HOUSING

9. Type of accommodation:

10. Number of rooms (excluding landings, bathroom, W.Cs. & sculleries):

11. Has the household the exclusive use of the following facilities within the building?

A hot water tap	Yes/No
An indoor W.C.	Yes/No
A fixed bath	Yes/No
A cooking stove	Yes/No

D. HEALTH

12. Do any members of the family/household, apart from (subject), have problems with their health? or any physical disabilities? Is anyone attending regularly at the doctor's surgery, a clinic or a hospital, or taking medicines or tablets regularly?

13. Does (subject) have any illnesses or physical disabilities? Has he ever been in hospital? Does he go regularly to a clinic or a doctor's surgery? Does he take tablets or medicine?

E. THE SUBJECT: - LOOKING AFTER HIMSELF

14. Does he wash and bath himself without being told to do so? Yes/No

15. (If D.13 has indicated motor difficulties) Does he dress himself? Yes/No

16. Does he choose which clothes to put on? Yes/No

17. Can he get himself up to go to work/in the mornings without supervision? Yes/No

18. (If D.13 has indicated motor difficulties) Does he feed himself without help? Yes/No

19. Does he make a cup of tea for himself if necessary? Yes/No

20. Does he make a simple meal for himself if necessary? e.g. boiled egg, fish fingers Yes/No

21. Could he look after himself if adults were ill or away from home

for a day Yes/No

for a week Yes/No

F. THE SUBJECT: - HELPING AT HOME

22. Does he help to prepare family meals? Yes/No

23. Does he ever cook a main meal for the family by himself Yes/No

24. Does he do any jobs other than cooking in the house? (specify)

25. Does he do these frequently or occasionally?

26. Does he do these on his own or only if he is supervised?

G. THE SUBJECT: - SHOPPING AND MONEY

27. Does he get messages for the household? Yes/No

28. (If yes) Does he have a written list to show in the shop Yes/No

29. (If no) Does he decide himself which brands etc. he will choose? Yes/No

30. (If he goes shopping) Does he handle money when he is shopping? Yes/No

31 (If yes) Can he check the change? Yes/No

32. Does he shop by himself for things he needs himself?

    Small things such as sweets or cigarettes Yes/No

    Large things such as a shirt or a dress Yes/No

33. (Whether he shops by himself or not) Does he normally choose his own new clothes? Yes/No

34. (If in work) Does he contribute to household expenses from his own earnings? Yes/No

35. (If not in work) Does he receive an allowance from the Department of Health and Social Security? Yes/No

    Does he earn a bonus at the Senior Occupation Centre? Yes/No

36. Does he plan out for himself what to do with the money he keeps out of his wage-packet/ allowance? Yes/No

37. Does he pay for his own sweets, cigarettes and amusements? Yes/No

38. Does he pay for his own clothes? Yes/No

39. Does he save part of what he earns/receives? Yes/No

40. (If he saves) Who looks after the savings?

41. (If he saves) Who decides how they should be spent?

H. THE SUBJECT: - LEISURE

42. Does he go out without an adult?

    Walking Yes/No

    on a bicycle Yes/No

43. Does he go on a bus by himself? Yes/No

44. How far from home does he go by himself?

45. How long can he be away from home without an adult?

46. Does he decide for himself when he is going out? Yes/No

47. Does he go out after dark without an adult? Yes/No

48. Who decides what time he shall be in at nights?

49. Does he go without an adult to

the cinema	Yes/No
matches	Yes/No
dancing	Yes/No
swimming	Yes/No
fishing	Yes/No
a café for snacks or a meal	Yes/No

(If any of above are answered "no", ask "Does he sometimes go to ..... with an adult?" and enter / in margin if he does.)

50. Does he usually go to the doctor or dentist by himself? Yes/No

51. Can he make a phone call without help? Yes/No

52. Is there a telephone in the house? Yes/No

53. Does he read a newspaper? Yes/No

(If so) How often? most days
at least once a week
less often than once a week

54. Which parts does he read?

55. Does he read

comics	Yes/No
magazines	Yes/No
books	Yes/No

56. Does he borrow books from a library? Yes/No

57. Does he attend church or a church organisation? Yes/No
(specify)

58. (If yes) Does he go most weeks
at least once a month
less often than once a month

59. Does he attend any organisation specifically for handicapped young people? (specify) Yes/No

60. Does he attend any other clubs or organisations? Yes/No
(specify)

61. Does he attend any further education classes? Yes/No
(specify)

62. Does he take part in organised sports? Yes/No
(specify)

63. Is there anything else that he does in his spare time? (specify)

64. Is he specially interested in any of these things?

65. (If so) For how long has he been keen on them?

66. Does he usually do these things (specify) by himself
with friends
with adults

I. THE SUBJECT: - WORK

67. Where is he working now? (If not already obtained)

68. Does he talk at home about his work/the occupation centre?

69. Does he seem to be happy there or not?

70. How does he get on with the other people there? With the employer/foreman/instructor/other workers?

71. Does he belong to a Trade Union? Yes/No
(specify if possible)

72. Is it ever difficult to get him off to work/ occupation centre or is he always keen to go?

J. THE SUBJECT: - FAMILY AND FRIENDS

73. Does he have a group of friends with whom he often goes out? Yes/No

74. (If yes) What are their ages (approximate)?

75. Are they boys
girls
boys and girls?

76. Has he a particular friend with whom he goes out often? Yes/No

77. (If yes) sex
approximate age
How long have they been friendly?

78. Do any of his friends visit him at home? Yes/No

79. Does he go to their homes? Yes/No

80. (If appropriate) Does he spend much time with his brother(s), sister(s)?

81. (If appropriate) How does he get on with them?

82. Would you say that there were any special problems with (subject) at home now? Have you any special worries about him?

APPENDIX 7b

FORM II. To be completed after the interview.

1. Description of home
   including comments on the neighbourhood, condition of the building, adequacy of accommodation and furnishings and standards of comfort, cleanliness and order.

2. Description of interview(s)
   including who was present, attitudes shown to interviewer and some assessment of validity of responses.

3. Description of mother
   including personality, indications of mental and physical health, extent of involvement in the life of the family, attitude to the subject, spouse and other members of household.

4. Description of father
   including personality, indications of mental and physical health, extent of involvement in the life of the family, attitude to subject, spouse and other members of household.

5. Description of subject
   including appearance, physique, standard and style of dress, tidiness and superficial cleanliness, any obvious physical disabilities, stigmata or speech defect, ability to join in a conversation, attitude to interviewer, attitude to other members of family, behaviour inside and outside the home.

6. Relationships within the family and between the family and the community, including methods used to maintain discipline and indications of deviant behaviour.

Attached to APPENDIX 8a

Space for name
and address

In the list of special schools published by the Scottish Education Department it is recorded that you administer the following schools or classes for the mentally handicapped:

No.	Type of School	Accommodation	Sex	Age-range	other cats. of handicap accommodated in the school

Filled in by author

I should be grateful if you would confirm or correct these details by placing either a tick or the correct figure in each adjacent column.

Note: Question 2 on the questionnaire form is intended to identify any local authorities that have opened special schools since the publication of the S.E.D.'s list.

APPENDIX 8a

Please return to:-
Mrs. M.C. Hope,
University of Edinburgh,
Department of Social Medicine,
Usher Institute,
Warrender Park Road,
Edinburgh, 9.

Note: For the purposes of this questionnaire the term 'mentally handicapped school leavers' means mentally handicapped pupils leaving special schools or classes. It does not refer to young people leaving Junior Training (Occupation) Centres, nor does it refer to any young people who have been ascertained as mentally handicapped but have remained in ordinary classes. Where a specific date is given, the term 'mentally handicapped school leavers' refers to mentally handicapped young people who have left school in that particular year. It does not mean all former pupils of schools for the mentally handicapped. Classes for backward and retarded children, sometimes known as modified classes are not classified as special classes. They are included in the term 'ordinary classes'.

1. Local Authority: _____

2. Do you administer any special schools or classes for mentally handicapped pupils? _____

3. Do you
   i) send pupils whom you have ascertained to be mentally handicapped to schools administered by other local authorities (please specify authorities?)

   _____

   ii) send pupils whom you have ascertained to be mentally handicapped to schools run by voluntary organisations (please specify organisations)?

   _____

   iii) keep ascertained mentally handicapped pupils in ordinary schools where there are no attached special classes?

   _____

4. What is the total school population of the area for which you are responsible?

   _____

5. What is the number of mentally handicapped pupils for which you are responsible?

_____

6. How many mentally handicapped pupils are placed in special Day schools or classes?

_____

7. How many mentally handicapped pupils are placed in special Residential schools?

_____

8. How many pupils ascertained by your authority to be mentally handicapped are in ordinary classes?

_____

9. Are vocational training facilities available to mentally handicapped school leavers in your area?

_____

10. If so, are they administered by:

a) your local authority _____

b) another local authority (please specify) _____

c) your local authority jointly with another authority (please specify) _____

d) the Ministry of Labour _____

e) a voluntary organisation (please specify) _____

f) some other body (please specify)? _____

11. Are the facilities shared with:

a) physically handicapped school leavers _____

b) adult disabled persons _____

c) severely mentally subnormal persons _____

d) any other category of persons (please specify)? _____

12. How many vocational training places were taken up by your mentally handicapped school leavers in

    i) 1964? _____

    ii) 1965? _____

(If exact figures are not available, please make an estimate of the number of your mentally handicapped school leavers who take up such places annually and write it in the space below

Estimate: _____)

13. Is sheltered employment available for mentally handicapped school leavers in your area?

_____

14. If so, is it administered by:

    a) your local authority _____

    b) another local authority (please specify) _____

    c) your local authority with another authority (please specify) _____

    d) the Ministry of Labour _____

    e) a voluntary organisation (please specify) _____

    f) some other body (please specify)? _____

15. Are the facilities shared with:

    a) physically handicapped school leavers _____

    b) adult disabled persons _____

    c) severely mentally subnormal persons _____

    d) any other category of persons (please specify) _____

16. What is the nature of the work undertaken?

17. How are the wages of the workers constituted (for example, basic time rates agreed with Unions, National Assistance plus incentive bonus etc.)?

18. How many places in sheltered employment were taken up by your mentally handicapped school leavers in

i) 1964? _____

ii) 1965? _____

(If exact figures are not available, please make an estimate of the number of your mentally handicapped school leavers who take up such places annually and write it in the space below

Estimate _____)

19. Are hostel facilities available for mentally handicapped school leavers (other than those in the care of a Children's Department) in your area?

_____

20. If so, are they administered by:

a) your local authority _____

b) another local authority _____
(please specify)

c) your local authority jointly with another authority (please specify) _____

d) a voluntary organisation (please specify) _____

e) some other body (please specify) _____

21. Are the hostels share with:

a) physically handicapped school leavers _____

b) adult disabled persons _____

c) severely mentally subnormal persons _____

d) approved school leavers _____

e) maladjusted persons _____

f) any other category of persons (please specify)? _____

22. How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers, including those in the care of a Children's Department, were placed in hostels in

    i) 1964? _____

    ii) 1965? _____

    (If exact figures are not available, please make an estimate of the number of your mentally handicapped school leavers placed in hostels annually and write it in the space below

    Estimate: _____)

23. How many of these were <u>not</u> in the care of a Children's Department in

    i) 1964? _____

    ii) 1965? _____

    (Estimate: _____)

24. Is any form of further education provided for mentally handicapped school leavers in your area?

    _____

    If so, please specify the nature of the courses provided.

25. Is such further education administered by:

    a) your local authority _____

    b) another local authority (please specify) _____

    c) your local authority jointly with another authority (please specify) _____

    d) a voluntary organisation (please specify) _____

    e) some other body (please specify) _____

26. Are any special recreational facilities provided for mentally handicapped young people in your area?

    _____

    If so, please specify the nature of the facilities and state who runs and finances them.

27. Are these special recreational facilities shared with:

    a) physically handicapped young persons _____

    b) severely mentally subnormal persons _____

    c) persons with any other category of handicap (please specify) _____

    d) young people without handicaps? _____

28. Is the Youth Employment Service in your area administered by the local authority or by the Ministry of Labour?

    _____

29. Is there a special Youth Employment Officer responsible for placing the handicapped?

    _____

30. If not, are any other special arrangements made for placing handicapped young people in employment?

31. How many of your pupils (other than those transferred to Junior Training (Occupation) Centres or to other schools) left schools or classes for the mentally handicapped in July 1965?

    _____

32. How many of these were still registered for first employment (i.e. were seeking employment but had never yet obtained a job) at the monthly count in

    i) October 1965? _____

    ii) January 1966? _____

33. What was the total number of school leavers in your area in July 1965?

    _____

34. How many of these were still registered for first employment at the monthly count in

    i) October 1965? _____

    ii) January 1966? _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX 8b

University of Edinburgh
Department of Social Medicine,
Usher Institute,
Warrender Park Road,
Edinburgh, 9.

24th. March 1966.

Dear Sir,

I am carrying out research into the provision and use of services for mentally-handicapped school leavers. This study has the financial support of the Scottish Home and Health Department.

As part of the study, a general survey is being made of facilities available to mentally-handicapped school leavers throughout Scotland. Your help and co-operation would be very much appreciated. I enclose a questionnaire and should be most grateful if you and your colleagues in the Health and Welfare Departments would be kind enough to have it completed.

I realise that in some local government offices the pressure of work is such that there is little time to spare for the completion of questionnaires and they may even be regarded as a nuisance. I do assure you, however, that this is a serious study and that the results should prove useful, and will readily be made available, not only to government departments and voluntary organisations, but also to local authorities themselves. You will appreciate that the value of the results will be seriously impaired if the response to the questionnaire is poor.

The questionnaire is admittedly a long one. This is because the questions have been made as detailed and specific as possible to avoid ambiguity. I think you will find that this makes it easier, rather than harder, to complete.

If you find that the form of a question does not fully provide for the answer you wish to give, please feel free to add further explanation and comment. This is not a 'yes/no' type of questionnaire. All additional information will be welcome. In particular, I should be glad to hear about any specific local difficulties that you encounter in providing such services and also about services which you would like to put into operation if the money and qualified staff were available.

If you are operating a service which you feel cannot be adequately described in writing and you think it would be helpful for me to discuss it with the appropriate officials, perhaps you would be kind enough to indicate this, as I shall

be pleased to visit your area for this purpose at a later stage in the enquiry. If this is the case, I should be grateful if you would nevertheless complete the questionnaire as fully as possible so that all general information can be collected in a standard form before any particular visits are undertaken.

The other part of the survey will consist of the collection of certain general information about all pupils who leave schools for the mentally-handicapped in July 1966. I will write to you about this next term.

Thank you for your assistance.

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. M.C. Hope, M.A.

APPENDIX 8c

Dear Sir,

In 1966 you were kind enough to complete a questionnaire which I sent you in the course of a study that I was carrying out with the support of the Scottish Home and Health Department. The questionnaire concerned the provision of services for leavers from special schools or classes for mentally handicapped pupils.

The facilities which you reported as being available in your area at that time are set out in Section A of the attached form. I should be very grateful if you would indicate in the space provided in Section B any changes that have taken place since then. If there have been no changes, it would be helpful if you would nevertheless return the form, having inserted the words "no change" in Section B.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. M.C. Hope

APPENDIX 9a

Please return to:

Mrs. M.C. Hope,
University of Edinburgh
Department of Social Medicine,
Usher Institute,
Warrender Part Road,
Edinburgh, 9.

Name of Local Authority: _____

Name of School: _____

Note. This questionnaire is concerned with pupils whose schooling ends in July 1966. Pupils who leave school because they are transferred to other schools or to Junior Occupation Centres should not be included in the figures given in answer to any question.

1. Do your mentally handicapped pupils receive any form of vocational training before leaving school? If so, please specify its nature.

2. How many mentally handicapped pupils (other than those transferred to other schools or to Junior Occupation Centres) left your school in July 1966?

_____

3. How many of these were permitted to leave before reaching the age of 16?

_____

4. What were the highest and lowest I.Qs. of your mentally handicapped leavers in July 1966?

Highest: _____

Lowest: _____

5. What was the average I.Q. of those leavers?

Average: _____

6. How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers were in the care of a Children's Department of a local authority?

_____

7. How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers were on Probation at the time of leaving?

_____

8. How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers were reported to the local health authority as being in need of further care and supervision?

_____

9. How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers saw the Youth Employment Officer before leaving school?

_____

10. How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers were placed in employment within one month of leaving school?

_____

11. a) How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers registered as Disabled Persons on leaving school or within one month of leaving?

_____

b) Did the young people who registered suffer from additional disabilities? Please specify.

12. How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers went into Senior Occupation Centres?

_____

13. How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers went into sheltered workshops?

_____

14. How many of your mentally handicapped school leavers entered upon a course of vocational training?

_____

15. Do the figures given in reply to this questionnaire include any pupils who were the responsibility of local authorities other than the one which administers the school? If so, please state how many and specify which authorities placed them in the school.

16. In addition to the leavers about whom figures have been given, were any of your mentally handicapped pupils 'upgraded' to spend all or part of a final term in an ordinary school before leaving in July 1966? If so, please state how many and whether they left at the age of 15.

17. Is there any additional information about your leavers that you think would be useful in this survey?

APPENDIX 9b

University of Edinburgh
Department of Social Medicine,
Usher Institute,
Warrender Park Road,
Edinburgh, 9.

15th June 1966

Dear Sir,

I wrote to you in March about the study concerning mentally handicapped school leavers that I am carrying out with the support of the Scottish Home and Health Department. You were kind enough to co-operate by filling in a questionnaire about the facilities available in your area.

As I indicated in my original letter, the second part of this national survey consists in the collection of information about all mentally handicapped pupils who leave special schools or classes in July 1966. The enclosed form shows the information required.

Local authorities will probably find that the most convenient method of recording this information is to arrange for a separate form to be completed at each special school or class. I therefore enclose an appropriate number of forms for the schools and classes for the mentally handicapped administered by your authority. I should be grateful if these could be returned to me, either directly from the schools or through your office, early next term.

I think that completion of the form should be straightforward, provided that the people responsible for recording the information know what is required beforehand and can consult with Youth Employment Officers, Probation Officers etc. at the appropriate time. It may be necessary for the Youth Employment Officer himself to complete questions 10-12.

Should you require any more copies of the form or further explanation of any of the questions, I shall be pleased to supply them.

You may be interested to know that, in addition to the national survey, a study is being made of each individual mentally handicapped leaver from the special schools and classes administered by one local authority.

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. M.C. Hope, M.A.

APPENDIX 9c

University of Edinburgh
Department of Social Medicine,
Usher Institute,
Warrender Park Road,
Edinburgh, 9

1st. June 1966

Dear Sir,

I wrote to you in March about the study concerning mentally handicapped school leavers that I am carrying out with the support of the Scottish Home and Health Department. Although I have not received any reply from you, I realise that this is probably due to pressure of work rather than to reluctance to co-operate in the study. I have therefore decided to send you information about the second part of the survey in the hope that you may find it possible to assist me in this.

As I indicated in my original letter, the second part of this national survey consists in the collection of information about all mentally handicapped pupils who leave special schools or classes in July 1966. The enclosed blue form shows the information required.

Local authorities will probably find that the most convenient method of recording this information is to arrange for a separate form to be completed at each special school or class. I therefore enclose an appropriate number of forms for the schools and classes for the mentally handicapped administered by your authority. I should be grateful if these could be returned to me, either directly from the schools or through your office, early next term.

I think that completion of the form should be straightforward, provided that the people responsible for recording the information know what is required beforehand and can consult with Youth Employment Officers, Probation Officers etc. at the appropriate time. It may be necessary for the Youth Employment Officer himself to complete questions 10-12.

Should you require any more copies of the form or further explanation of any of the questions, I shall be pleased to supply them.

You may be interested to know that, in addition to the national survey, a study is being made of each individual mentally handicapped leaver from the special schools and classes administered by one local authority.

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. M.C. Hope, M.A.

APPENDIX 10a

Form to be completed for each mentally handicapped pupil who leaves a special school or class in the Summer of 1967.

---

1. Sex:

2. Age at time of leaving:

3. Any handicaps additional to that of mental handicap:

4. Did he/she seek employment?

5. If not, why not?

6. If unemployed, is he/she still seeking employment?

7. If no longer seeking employment, please give date when he/she ceased to do so:

   and state why:

8. If registered as a Disabled Person, please give date of registration:

9. Please fill in the columns below for each job held:

Date of taking up employment	Nature of occupation	Whether placed by Y.E.O. (yes or no)	Date of leaving job	Reasons for leaving

Note: The intervals between jobs will be regarded as periods of unemployment, unless otherwise stated below.

10. If the young person was not seeking employment for a time, please give the dates of this period and the reason why employment was not sought:

APPENDIX 10b

FORM B. An alternative form if Form A is not acceptable.

---

1. How many mentally-handicapped pupils in your area were brought to your notice as being due to leave special schools or classes in June/July 1967?

   _____

2. How many of these did not seek employment

   a) because their parents wished them to remain at home _____

   b) because it was decided that they would be more suitably placed in a Training (Occupation) Centre _____

   c) for some other reason (please specify)? _____

Of those who sought employment

3. How many registered as Disabled Persons within one month of leaving school? _____

4. How many are registered as Disabled Persons now? _____

5. How many were placed in employment by you within one month of leaving? _____

6. How many found employment for themselves or through some other agency within one month of leaving? _____

7. How many have not yet been employed at all? _____

8. How many, other than those included in 7, have had a total of more than 6 months unemployment? _____

9. How many have had a total of 3-6 months unemployment? _____

10. How many are in employment at present? _____

Of those employed at present

11. How many are in their 2nd job? _____

12. How many are in their 3rd job? _____

13. How many are in their 4th job? _____

14. How many have had more than 4 jobs? _____

15. How many have remained in any one job for more than 6 months? _____

Of those who have been employed but are unemployed at present

16. How many have had 2 jobs? _____

17. How many have had 3 jobs? _____

18. How many have had 4 jobs? _____

19. How many have had more than 4 jobs? _____

20. How many have remained in any one job for more than 6 months _____

APPENDIX 11

Some comments on the scoring of the Manchester Scales of Social Adaptation.

A.6. This question was excluded. In testing prior to the main study no subject was found who could draw an adequate map of his route and the attempts were extremely time-consuming. The item would not have been equally difficult for all the subjects, since a few walked to school from homes nearby but many travelled long and complicated journeys by school bus. The tester could not have marked the item properly as the subjects' homes were scattered throughout a large county. The item was treated as being "beyond the scope" of the subjects and no credit was given.

A.12. If a child says that he "reads" certain features in the newspaper and can recall an adequate number of items but the tester knows his reading age and doubts if he can in fact read the paper unaided, should he be given any credit for the fact that he looks and takes an interest? Does a list of television programmes qualify as an item?

B. The sporting items were less familiar to Scottish children who are placed at a disadvantage in comparison with English children by the inclusion of items about the White City, the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race and the Captain of England. The winners of the Scottish Cup Final were accepted as the correct answer to question B.14, although the difficulty level may not have been equivalent to that of the English version.

C.26. The answer "Provost" was accepted as correct.

F.56. Several young people tested had played such games in the past but had given up playing as they or their friends considered them too babyish. They had not, however, progressed to adolescent games of the type that would earn credit on 59. Should they have been given any credit for the fact that they could and had played ball games when younger?

F.60. Several of the subjects regularly attended a weekly evening club for former and senior pupils at their school. The scoring instructions state "any adolescent club will qualify", but does that include a "sheltered" club of this type?

F.62 & 63. The scoring instructions state that distance and time are important elements, but how much importance should be attached to the phrase "with friends"? As these two questions appear in the section on socialisation, is it correct to assume that expeditions alone do not qualify, even when they more than satisfy the time and distance criteria? Too much credit may have been given here to young people whose expeditions were, the author suspects, mainly solitary. However, if one gives no credit for item 62, one is instructed to omit items 64-67 which are items on which these solitary young people could, and should, score, since their freedom of movement is not necessarily restricted by their lack of friends.

F.57 & 60. How should one score if testees used to belong to such organisations or play such games but are now too busy working in their spare time?

G.69. The author assumed that if a child was seen on to a bus and met at the other end, there was no score. It seemed to her that, because of the emphasis on distance in the scoring instructions, some pupils who undertook relatively simple journeys on regular country buses with few stops and clearly recognisable destinations were getting higher scores than some who took short but more complicated and potentially confusing journeys in towns.

G.64. How should one score for country children whose homes are not within several miles of main roads? Some of the subjects might be away from home for several hours and travel distances of several miles without being required to cross main roads.

H.74. Very few of the girls ever wore hair ribbons and some boys never wore ties. Wearing such articles was not expected of them and consequently they had had little practice in these skills. This was related more to the customs of the community than to their own competence. The author may have been rather lenient in scoring this item.

H.78. In some cases where full marks had to be given for this and similar items since the subject performed the acts alone, it was suspected that this was not because he performed them competently but simply because no adult could be bothered to supervise. It was obvious that in some homes washing the person or changing one's clothes was none too frequent.

I.81 & 82. In several cases, subjects went shopping, taking lists, asking for what they wanted, etc., but then they simply handed the shopkeeper a purse containing the money and trusted him to give them the right change. Since they did not in fact handle the money, should they be given credit for the activity?

I.83. The sentence "The child has on at least three occasions purchased an article to a value greater than his weekly allowance without prior consultation of his parents" was not included in the original unpublished version of the test used in this study.

APPENDIX 12

The prediction of adjustment and the prediction of the balance of the two aspects of adjustment.

An analysis carried out and reported by K. Hope.

For the purposes of this appendix two variables were defined as simple transformations of total social adjustment and overall employment adjustment. The first defined variable is the sum of the two adjustment variables and is intended to measure a young person's "general adjustment". The second is the difference between the two adjustment variables and is intended to measure the extent to which his social adjustment exceeds his employment adjustment or vice versa, irrespective of his general level of adjustment or failure to adjust. The second defined variable is referred to as a young person's "balance of adjustment".

The correlation between total social adjustment and overall employment adjustment is 0·77, N=62 (Table 4.29). The two new variables were defined in the following way. Means and standard deviations of total social adjustment and overall employment adjustment were computed for the sixty-two subjects for whom scores on both variables were available. Each score was then expressed as a deviation from its appropriate mean and the deviation was divided by the appropriate standard deviation. The result of this standardization procedure is that we obtain two variables each with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of 62. A subject's general adjustment was defined as the sum of his scores on the two standardized variables and his balance of adjustment was defined as his standardized social adjustment minus his standardized employment adjustment.

Table A.1 shows the correlations between these two new variables and a selection of the potentially predictive variables. The intercorrelations of the latter are also shown. An experienced data analyst, looking at this table, will observe that, if the signs of Additional Disability are reversed, there is a general factor running through the intercorrelations of the predictive variables, and the column of correlations between general adjustment and the predictive variables comes close to being the general factor. This implies that, if general adjustment is thought of as a target and the predictive variables are shots, then the shots are fairly evenly distributed about the target. The extent to which the predictive variables enable us to decide a subject's level of general adjustment may be found by computing the squared multiple correlation coefficient, which indicates that 59% of the variance of general adjustment is predictable from these nine variables. The comparable figure for the balance of adjustment is 32%.

	I.Q.	Read-ing	Arith-metic	Coloured Progres-sive Matrices	Vocab-ulary	Man-chester Scales	Social Know-ledge	Teacher's Combined Ratings	Addi-tional Disabi-lity	General Adjust-ment	Balance of adjustment
I.Q.	1·00									0·34	0·09
Reading	0·27	1·00								0·18	0·08
Arith-metic	0·32	0·33	1·00							0·46	0·11
Coloured Progres-sive Matrices	0·29	0·10	0·45	1·00						0·40	-0·03
Vocab-ulary	0·63	0·24	0·19	0·40	1·00					0·39	0·16
Man-chester Scales	0·38	0·32	0·64	0·51	0·52	1·00				0·64	0·26
Social Know-ledge	0·57	0·33	0·57	0·52	0·74	0·75	1·00			0·61	0·06
Teacher's Combined Ratings	0·16	0·25	0·36	0·39	0·30	0·42	0·52	1·00		0·60	-0·07
Addi-tional Disabi-lity	-0·24	-0·24	-0·22	-0·05	-0·19	-0·37	-0·21	-0·20	1·00	-0·40	0·21

Table A.1. Correlations among certain of the potentially predictive variables and correlations between them and a) general adjustment and b) the balance of social adjustment and employment adjustment. Note that the test scores were those obtained when the subjects were aged 16.

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